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[*The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically*]

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MAN IN INDIA

Vol. XXX]

January—March. 1950

[No. 1

A CELT-SITE IN SINGBHUM

(*A Study in Typology*)*

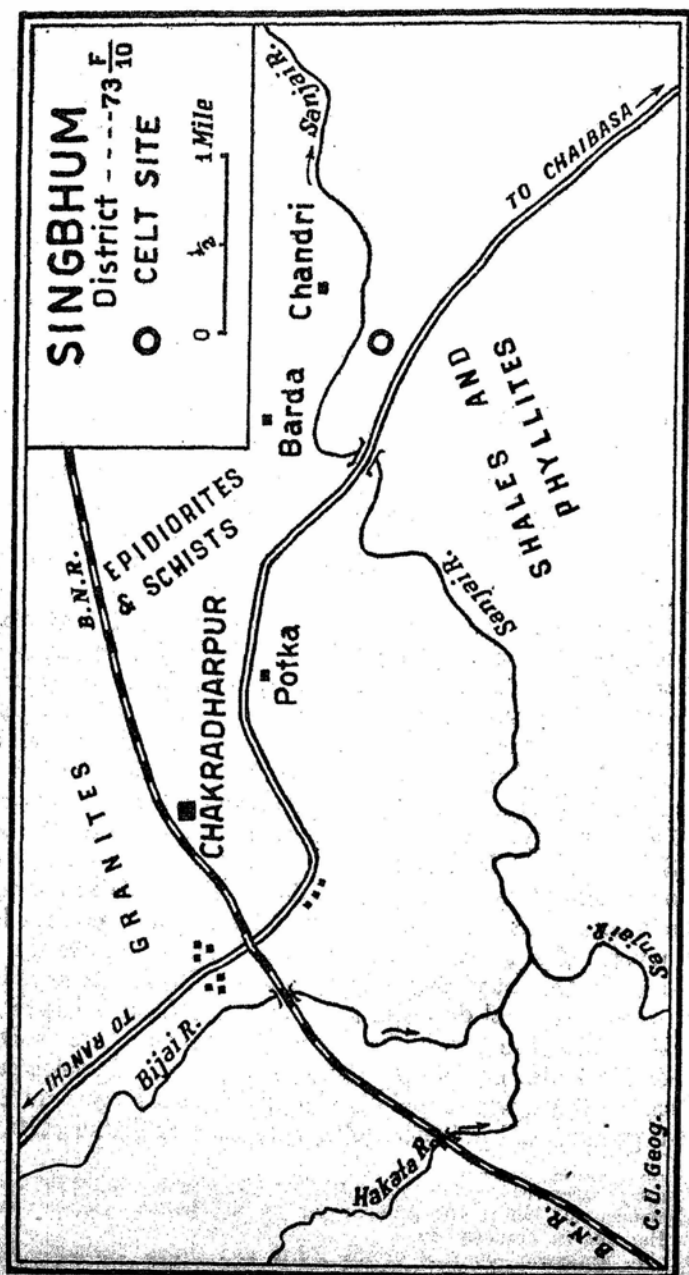
D. SEN

WHILE on a trail for neolithic artefacts in Singbhum, South Bihar, which is long known¹ for its prehistoric antiquity, the author as a research fellow of the Calcutta University, found (in the field-season of 1938-39) a rich celt-site on the Sanjai Valley four and half miles south-east of Chakradharpore, near the Barda bridge on the Sanjai by the Chakradharpore-Chaibasa road.

The site with low hills in near background, is situated on an ancient land-surface covered with a deposit of dark clayey soil interspersed, among other things, with blocks of *shales* and *phyllites*, rolled quartzites and a mixture of pebbles and gravels. The country is *archaeon* in solid geology and mainly consists of *shales* and *phyllites*. Not far from this site, there are also outcrops of *schists*, *quartzites* and *epidiorites*, of which the last two mainly furnished the necessary raw materials for the manufacture of the celts and related tools. The *archaeon* rocks on the bank of the Sanjai are overlain by a mantle of recent alluvium. The *celt-site* is on a high ground above the alluvial flood plain, overlooking the river and is more than fifty feet above the present level of the river. The alluvial deposits which bank against the celt high-ground have not yielded any artefacts. No fossils have been found. As superficial deposits seem to have been more or less obliterated from the site and as stratified deposits are lacking, the geological dating of the site is difficult. Typologically, however, the finds, which include among others a large number of chipped, ground and polished celts, suggest a neolithic culture.

*The paper was read under the caption—A Note on the Neolithic Typology of Chakradharpore—before the 28th session of the Indian Science Congress held at Banarès in January 1941.

¹ C. W. Anderson—*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* No. 3. 1917. Roy, S.C. *JBORS*. II, 1916.



Map of Singbhum Showing the Celt Sites

The site may well be called a *celt-factory* or *workshop* site from the quantity and variety of celts it has yielded in almost all the stages of their manufacture. The celts are so far found to be concentrated in a small area. Only a few have been found, obviously carried down, in tunnels flowing from the above. The tools are not rolled and it seems that most of the celts, if not all, belong *in situ* to the site. Their state of preservation is generally good. Some of the tools however show a degree of *patination* of a yellow-brown colour. Some of the more slender polished celts have been broken by some agency. The rocks of which the tools are made are *quartzites*, *epidiorites* and *basalts*.² The number of tools collected from the site is about two hundred and fifty.

The predominant *tool-family* is the celt. It is represented by a variety of types and sub-types. A preliminary examination reveals nearly all known stages of celt manufacture. On this basis the following classification may be attempted: (1) The completely chipped celt, (2) Partially chipped and partially ground celt, (3) Partially chipped, ground and polished celt (4) Completely ground celt, (5) Partially ground and partially polished celt, (6) Partially chipped and partially polished celt., (7) Fully polished celt.

If the chipped celt is taken as the basal type and the polished celt as the last in the series, we have here no less than five intermediate stages. It should not be inferred however that the basal or the intermediate types are merely stages and were not used as tools. It seems that they were used as some bear marks of utilization. Each stage illustrates the tool-technique employed to give form and shape to a really effective implement. It is however undoubted that the polished celt is the finished tool.

In the manufacture of celts, chipping is a primary process. It consists of the removal of coarse flakes from the body of the core. The basal type stage here i.e. the chipped celt from this site (Figs. 1,2) illustrates a bold chipping technique, spread all over the face and the sides, leading to a more or less tapering tool, broad at the cutting edge which is usually but not always convex, and more or less narrow or pointed at the pole. In some specimens the chipping is deep while in others it is more or less shallow. In some tools, chipping is somewhat controlled at the cutting edges and at the sides. An advance is indicated by pecking. The sides are roughly straight but converge at the pole. Some examples of the chipped celt with blunt poles showing fractures suggest that they were hammered.

² The chief rock material is Epidiorite.

If chipping is a primary process, grinding smooths down the body of the tool, giving it a better shape and symmetry. Grinding as a process is also preparatory to polishing. There are some examples which show the process of grinding superimposed upon the chipped surfaces. The amount of grinding, however, is more or less restricted round the cutting edges. Here chipping is found more on the sides. Thus the partially chipped and partially ground variety (Fig. 3) is a technical improvement on the former. Such examples however are not very common, since grinding has gradually given way to the process of polishing.

The partially chipped and partially polished celt (Figs. 7-11) is quite a number in our collection and seems to be rather common. The relative amount of chipping and polishing varies a good deal. In many examples, the amount of chipping prevails over that of polishing which has been restricted only to the cutting edge, giving the tool a fine sharp axe-like appearance. The maker did not perhaps need to polish the sides which are as a rule left chipped perhaps to save labour. In some examples, however, polishing spreads over the greater part of the body of the tool. The partially chipped and partially polished celt shows a variety depending upon the forms of the cutting edge, the sides and the pole.

The combination of all the three processes, chipping, grinding and polishing is well in evidence in some examples (Fig. 14). The relative amount of chipping, grinding and polishing varies a good deal. It must be remembered that to completely polish a tool is a difficult and laborious work. A clever artist perhaps would like to get quicker results by restricting polishing to the cutting edge only and obtaining a sharp edge. The primitive chipping becomes now more controlled and is restricted to the sides and round the pole. Often there are only traces of chipping.

Ground all over but unpolished and without definite traces of chipping, such examples of celts (Fig. 4) are not uncommon in our collection. By the process of grinding, the sides have been rounded off and the tools look stouter. The grinding however varies in quality from more granular to smoother members and sometimes the grinding leads to such well developed smooth surface that it becomes difficult to ascertain in a particular case whether the specimen is roughly polished or finely smooth ground celt, specially where it is also patinated.

The partially ground and partially polished celt (Fig. 15) illustrates how the technique of polishing has been superimposed upon that of grinding. It seems that the grinding process

attempts to give a symmetry to the shape as well as some rigidity to the tool. It also makes the tool ready, if necessary, for the purpose of polishing it. It seems that the makers at last preferred to make a display of the art and technique of polishing to grinding alone not only on the cutting edge but also to some extent on the sides. The amount of polishing and the ground surface left as-such varies however a good deal in many tools. In many examples, polishing is restricted only to the working edge.

The completely polished celt, though not very common here offers very good examples (Figs, 19-25). Some are beautifully polished and with almost glossy surfaces. Some specimens are of beautifully symmetrical form and compare well with the polished celts of Europe and elsewhere. The cutting edge is more or less convex and is very sharp.

We now come to the consideration of the *forms* of the cutting edge of the celts. In our collection, in all eight forms of cutting edge, may be figured out: 1. Normal convex. 2. Deep convex. 3. Very deep convex.—almost half-circle. 4. more or less straight. 5. Slightly oblique 6. Deeply oblique 7. Convex-oblique. 8. Laterally bulging—a peculiar development of convexity.

The most common form is the convex cutting edge, the amount and nature of convexity, however, varying a good deal. In some examples, it is symmetrically convex, in others it is asymmetric. When the convexity is asymmetric and the depth irregular, the cutting edge thus becomes more or less bulging lending to an asymmetric shape to the tool itself. In many examples, the cutting end is *bivelled*. The almost straight form of cutting edge gives rise to a chisel type rather than to a celt or axe-edge. The straight cutting edge form is thus a contrast to the convex form. In many examples, the straight cutting edge is slightly rounded off at the sides. These tools belong to the family of the celt and not to that of the chisel. It has been suggested by some typologists that the straight-edged celts have graded into what are known as chisels. The oblique form of cutting edge though not so common as the convex form is also in evidence in our collection. It seems that it is related to the latter form when it is deep. But when the obliquity is slight, it is more related to the straight cutting edge. The different forms of the cutting edge described here is not to be taken in any evolutionary series. The forms of the cutting edge may however to some extent be roughly correlated to the main stages of celt manufacture. For example, the basal chipped celt has usually

a more or less normal convex cutting edge. The ground-polished celts or chipped-polished celts have deep convex edge and the polished celts have very deep almost semi-circular form of cutting edge, while some ground celts and chisel-like celts and typical chisels have straight cutting edges. Some polished as well as ground celts have asymmetric convex cutting edges.

Next we come to brief classificatory description of the different forms of the pole or butt in cross-sections. Roughly ten forms may be figured out as follows: 1. Rectangular or sub-rectangular. 2. Square. 3. Triangular. 4. Hexagonal. 5. Circular or round. 6. Oval or elliptical. 7. Oblong. 8. Irregular. Of these, the most common forms are the circular and oval. Chipped celts have usually round or oval or triangular poles. The rectangular and square sections are very prominent in chipped-ground celts and chipped celts and chisels with rectangular or squared up sides. It is obvious that the form of the pole varies with that of the sides and with that the general shape of the implement. The common roughy triangular or tapering chipped celts with more or less straight sides converging at the pole would have pointed or rounded poles. The rectangular celt with rectangular or squared up sides would have rectangular or square forms of the pole. Such correlations between the forms of the pole, the sides and the shapes may be usefully attempted to yield interesting typological results.

The sides show a number of different forms. Straight converging sides are common; straight but non-converging sides are also common. Rounded convex sides and rectangular or squared sides are familiar with the marginally chipped celts or with the pick and chisel-like celts. V-shaped profile is very common, the line of profile is more or less straight and is sometimes continuous. It is a rule that the ground celts have rounded or convex sides. It may be that these are later typological features while straight chipped celts with converging profiles are earlier.

The celts in our collection presents a variety of shapes, of which the more common are the triangular or V-shapes and the oval shapes with more or less convex form of cutting edge. Besides, there are the characteristic U-forms or horse-shoe shapes and roughly rectangular shapes. The several U-forms have either convex, oblique or more or less straight cutting edges. The shape of the tools is obviously consequent upon the forms of the

cutting edge, sides and the pole. Thus the shapes may be symmetric or asymmetric.

We shall now briefly refer to some chisel-like tools and other related types that come from the site. Specimen Ch. 404. (fig. 18) has all the characteristics of an excellent chisel or "cheni" if we may so designate it. It is made of quartzite and is deeply patinated. It is a small rectangular tool, slender at the edge and stouter at the butt or the pole-end. The tool is somewhat ground with conspicuous traces of chipping specially at the margin. The straight cutting edge or the chisel-end is sharp while the butt-end is square in section. Each side is V-shaped in profile, the two margins on each side meeting at the cutting edge. On the margins the chisel is minutely chipped with care and control. It seems that the tool was used as a cold chisel, held in position by hand and hammered upon the butt head or pole with another object. There is a prominent ridge-like bulge slightly below the butt-head. This seems to provide a suitable hold or grip for the fingers.

There is another interesting tool type (Ch. 403) from the same site in our collection (Fig. 17). It is short and stout and rather rectangular in shape. The tool is well ground and smooth and is patinated. It is made of quartzite rock. The cutting edge is more or less oblique and the butt head is roughly square. The sides are V-shaped, the margins converging at the pole. The tool is flat at the under-surface and is smoothly ground. The outer face is more or less convex and is *bivelled* at the cutting end. The butt-head shows peculiar fractures which suggests hammering. This tool may be a chisel type.

Another curious tool (Ch. 405. Fig. 26) in our series shows some remarkable typological features. It is perhaps a peculiar development of the chisel, somewhat in the nature of a *screw-driver* type of tool. That it may be a tool of such a type or that it had a special function is suggested by the following remarkable features: obliquely and sharply *bivelled* at the cutting edge; the margins of the sides converge at both the ends of the tool; the pole-end is sharp and is slightly oblique and slender, suitable for hafting, possibly for insertion into a hollow stem of a handle; *spiral* nature of the tool which on careful examination would suggest that it is specially suited for spirally driving or using the tool. The peculiar *oblique bivelling* suggests that it is a tool of a special type adapted for some special function. This type is unique of its kind and is not duplicated either at this site or in any other site in India that I know of.



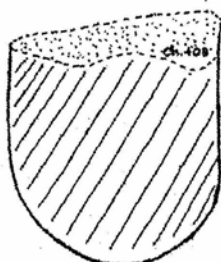
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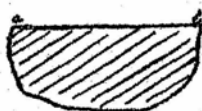
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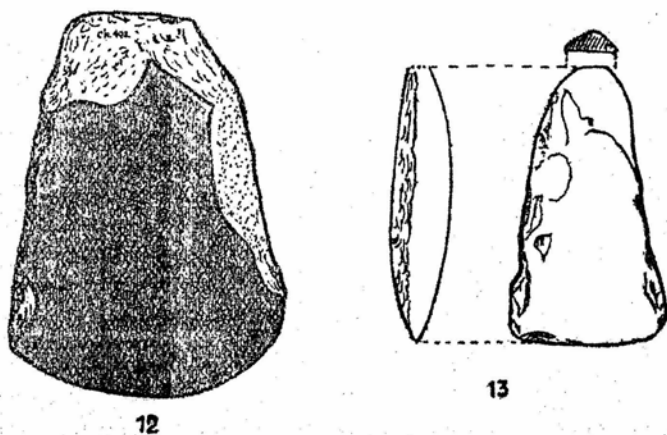
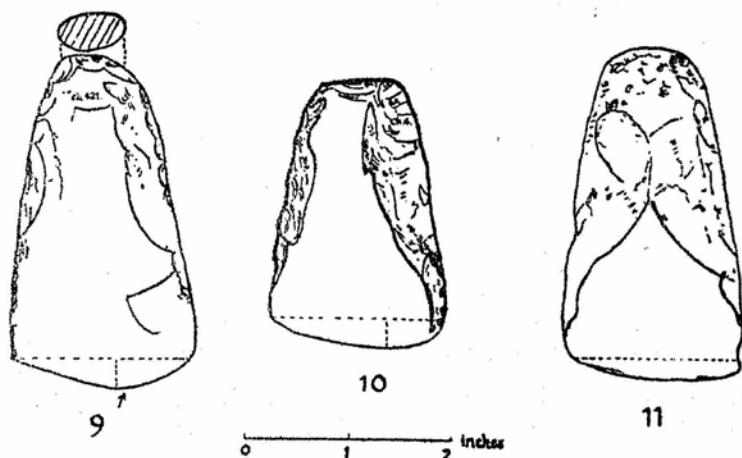
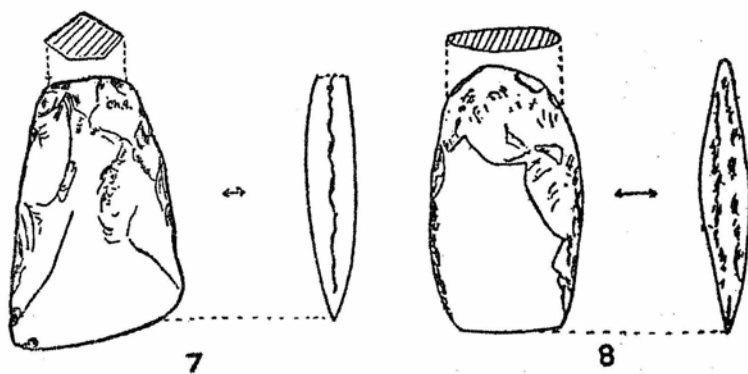


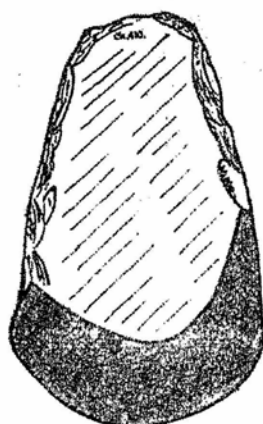
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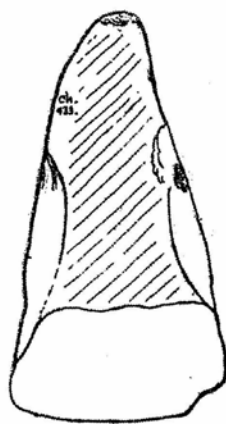
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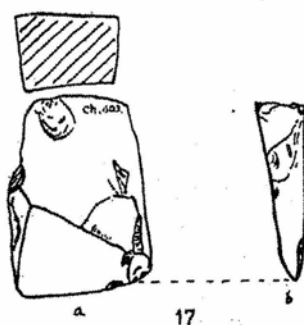
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15



16



17

Scale in inch



a

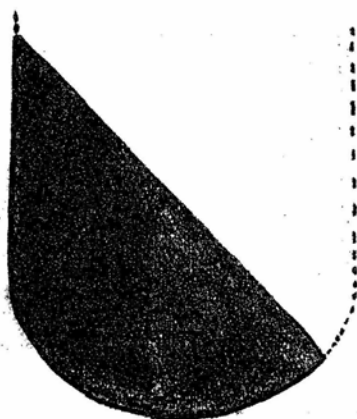


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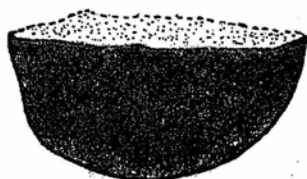


c

18



19

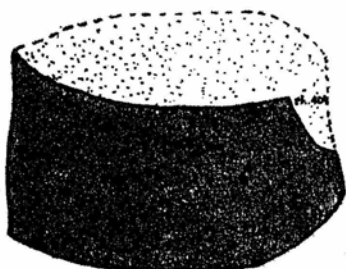


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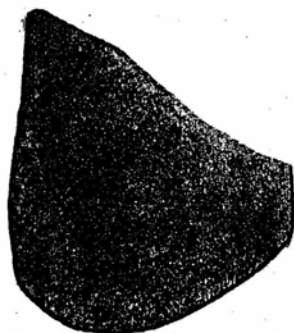
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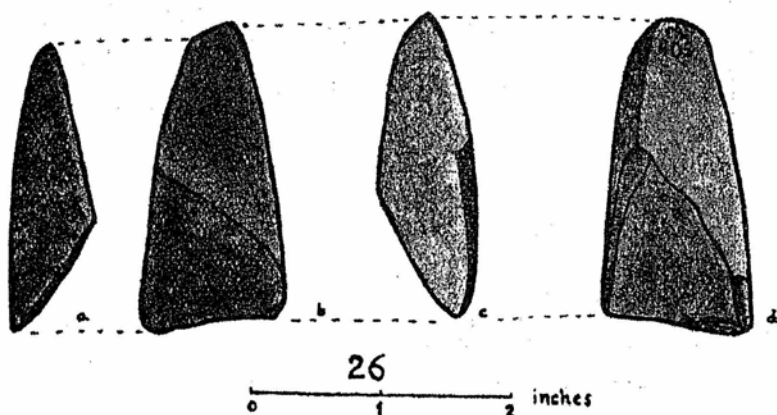


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25

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GUIDE TO ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Chipped Celt
2. Chipped Celt
3. Chipped and Ground Celt
4. Ground Celt
5. Chipped and Ground Celt
6. Ground Celt
7. Chipped and Ground Celt
8. Chipped and Ground Celt
9. Chipped and Polished Celt
10. Chipped and Polished Celt
11. Chipped and Polished Celt
12. Polished Celt
13. Chipped and Ground Celt
14. Chipped, Ground and Polished Celt
15. Ground and Polished Celt
16. Ground and Polished Celt (with marginal chipping)
17. Ground Celt (with oblique bevelling)
18. Chisel
19. Polished Celt
20. Polished Celt
21. Polished Celt
22. Polished Celt
23. Polished Celt
24. Polished Celt
25. Polished Celt
26. Screw-driver type (?)

MUSIC IN ASSAM : ITS DIVINE ORIGIN

PRAFULLADATTA GOSWAMI

1. Religion plays a distinctive role in primitive societies, and though it is now considered irrational, it goes a great deal to explain phenomena in an atmosphere where fear rather than scepticism is the rule. Religion covers not only the beliefs of primitive peoples about such problems as the nature of deity and the hereafter, but also much of what some of us call science, medicine, and philosophy. It would be unfair to conclude that the vestiges of primitive beliefs have disappeared from our midst. Our belief in magic gives the lie to such conclusions. Nevertheless in certain spheres certain beliefs have survived in a way which still keep them encased in a primitive atmosphere. The consideration of music as divine which obtains in the villages of Assam is a case in point

2. In a way music whether the instruments used or the songs sung, is often held to have been first communicated by the gods. (See Hastings, Vol. IX, p.6). Verrier Elwin notes that the Murias sing of the "eighteen instruments of Lingo Bai", their cult-hero:

O the songs that Lingo taught us,
O the steps that Lingo taught us!
The first song is Lingo's, and the first step is Lingo's.

The first musician of the Murias was Lingo himself, and the practice of music is not held as so often in India, to be discreditable but is honourably rooted in the history and mythology of the tribe. Many of the songs and dances have a religious purpose, and often begin with an invocation to Lingo and other gods (Elwin, *The Muria and their Ghotul*, 1947, pp. 521-4). An attempt will be made here to put across certain instances so as to bring out the position music holds among the Assamese and to point out how often it is attributed a divine origin.

3. The folksongs of the *Bihu-geet* class constitute perhaps the best love poetry in Assamese. They are sung on the occasion of the *Bihu*, a spring festival, and they throw light on the psychology and beliefs of the rural population of Upper Assam. The following should be appropriated in this context :

It was God who planted the shoots of songs
 it was Brahma who tended them
 forgive me, people, if an unbecoming song comes out
 first I sing of love.

First God created the world
 he also created the creatures
 the same God made love
 why not we ?

Song and love, salient features of the *Bihu* are given a divine origin.

4. With the *Bihu* is to be associated the *Husari* institution, in which the lads of the village move about singing benedictory songs at each household of the village. Visiting household was also a part of the European May festivities and, in Assam, is observable among the Kukis in the south-east and the Abors in the north-east. The Kacharis of upper Assam have a myth to explain the origin of the *Husari*. It is said that Brahma had a daughter from an Apsara. This unrestrained god later saw his grown-up daughter and fell for her. King Dharma weighed the scales of justice and found the girl wanting. So she was driven away from heaven. She came to the earth and roamed about. When spring came there was a thrill of new life throughout the universe, and the gods remembered this girl pining away in misery and loneliness. They went to Visnu and spoke to him about her. Visnu sent them to Bathou or Siva. Sitting under a *pipul* tree Bathou gave them lessons in the *Husari* dance and music. They then went to each divine household, danced and sang and thus collected various articles. With these articles they rehabilitated the Cinderella goddess. The girl looked up again in all her youthfulness and feeling of joy. She started dancing while the gods accompanied her on their instruments. Her bewitching dance so moved the heart of King Dharma that she was called to her divine home. But the dance and music remained on earth, to be celebrated by the Kacharis every spring, "when the annual *Bihu* comes and trees change their foliage." Indian *shastras* also hold that Nataraj Siva is the ultimate source of dance and music.

5. In the villages are found indigenous drummers and among them are traditions to explain the origin of the drum as of other instruments. When was the drum born, who made it, who first beat on it, what wood it was of, what bamboo and what kind of string were used to make it, where did the skin come from, from what kind of cattle, how was the stick with which the drum is struck made, ... are the questions that an initiate in the fold of drummers has to learn.

The traditions or myths begin with the very beginning of things— as in the mantra literature of the province— that is, from the creation of the world itself. At first there was only Adi Niranjana (the name smacks of later Buddhism) and finding that there should be creation he made Prakriti from his left side. Prakriti gave birth to an egg from which was born Brahma. From the pores of Brahma's hair was born the earth. Then were created the five handfuls of creatures. Ages wore out and when the Kali age came musical instruments like, *Vin*, *Pepa*, *Dhol*, *Khol*, *Mridang*, *Tal*, *Banki*, *Tokari*, *Tabala*, *Khutital*, *Nagara*, *Khanjari*, *Dholok*, *Behela*, *Serengdar*, *Gagana*, *Muruli*, *Kali*, *Dhak*, *Daba*, *Kaph*, *Jayadhol*, *Sutuli*, instruments of the Gandharvas and which were born in heaven, came down to the earth : "In the primal *Satya* age were the instruments born ; the drum was given birth to by Mahadev of Kailasa."

Then come the details of the construction of the *dhol* or drum itself. The wood from which it is made is from the *Sam* tree and the seeds of the *Sam* were given by Krisna to Narada who planted them in the earth. The tree grew up and Maha-dharma became its central portion. It was cut down by Viswakarma and given the shape of the drum by the carpenter Sukmal. In this way descriptions of the particular kind of cow from which skin is procured, the chamar who procures it, how the skin is dried and cut up, how the drum is constructed, and so on are given.

The drummer also has his birth and evolution. The drummer explains his body : when he is in the embryo stage, Sankara takes his place on his head, Surya on his eyes, the Aswini Kumars on his nose, Varuna on his tongue, Vayu on his skin, Indra on his hands, Visnu on his feet, Mahadev on his heart, Govinda on his ears, Kesava on his brows ; the three arteries Ingala (Ira), Pingala and Susumna remain disguised as women. The description accords in part with the description of birth found in the songs of the Buddhist-Sahajiyas of Bengal and Assam. The summary given here is from Tirthanath Goswami, *Dhol, Mridang, Aru Kholar Malita*, 1940.

This esoteric interpretation of the institution of drumming would seem to show in what respect a drummer is held by the rural population.

6. In the Dehbichar songs of a certain class of mendicants, whose practices have affinities to the Buddhist-Sahajiyas of Bengal, references are found as to the origin of the Dumaru carried about by the mendicants as they beg for alms :

O, who gives you the cap the princers, O Bhakat, who
gives you the Dumaru ?
Visnu gave me the Dumaru, Rudra gave me the discipline

The Dumaru is a thin waisted handy thing ; it has a stone tied to its waist and when shaken the stone strikes each head in turn. It is seen all over India.

7. These wandering Bhakats also sing to the tune of the Tokari, a gourd instrument with a string. The Tokari also has its divine descent, The Bhakat would sing :

Rebab and Sebab, the two Tokaris
came down to the world,
one was taken away by the wild Sankara
the other the witness to the four Vidas,
the wooden Tokari, it does recite the name of Hari
who would explain this riddle ?....

The tunes of the Tokari have a hypnotic effect on the listener and the musician also sings in a long-drawn and rather mournful style.

8. The Bahua is the buffoon and minstrel combined. He regales the villagers with satirical and often vulgar songs. He traces his origin to the severed head of Daksha, the king of the Himalayas and father-in-law of Mahadev. There may be other versions as well, for the Bahua composes extempore and sings whatever he likes. The *Ban-geet* is allied to the *Bihu-geet*, being pastoral song, and its origin is explained by the Bahua in a peculiar manner. Mahadev found that Brahma, when he raised his head upwards, used to utter obscene things and therefore he severed the latter's head with a slap. The severed head turned into the *Ban-geet* !

9. Assamese ballads invoke divinities like Saraswati, the goddess of learning, and this is perhaps because of Hindu influence in later times. Mere invocation, of course, is not quite helpful to establish the thesis that music in Assam is supposed to have a divine ancestry. More helpful are the instances of the *Bihu geet*, the *Husari*, the drummers, and so on. The drummers especially refer to musical instruments as having a divine origin.

It must, however, be admitted in conclusion that the sanctity with which popular music and instruments have been held is getting itself shorn of with the impact of a changing economy and a different set of values.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ORIGIN AND CLAN SYSTEM OF THE BANJARAS OF HYDERABAD

P. KAMLA MANOHAR RAO

BANJARAS are found in almost all the districts of Hyderabad State, specially in the Warangal, Nalgonda and Adilabad districts they are found in large numbers. The total population of Banjaras in the State according to the census report of 1941 is 4,04614

Before entering into details about the mythological origin of the Banjaras and the organisation of their clans it would be interesting to speculate on the origin of the word "Banjara". Banjaras are a nomadic people and used to live in jungles. Those who lived in jungles and wandered from place to place were called "Vanachara" in Sanskrit. As years passed on it seems probable that the word Vanachara or Banachara changed into Banjara.

It is rather difficult to locate the exact place or region in India to which the Banjaras originally belonged. Mythological stories and history only tell us that their homeland was somewhere in Northern India. This fact is further confirmed by a study of their physical type. The prominent nose, long face, projected chin and fair skin colour are the main physical features of the Banjaras which place him nearer to the people of Northern India, rather than to those of the Deccan.

Another question that arises at this stage is how and when these Banjaras migrated in such large numbers into Southern India? When the Moghul Army invaded Southern India it had to face severe difficulties due to bad communications and lack of transport. In this respect Banjaras were of great help to them. With their pack bullocks they could move fast and could quickly supply rations and other necessities to the army. With their magnificent system of speedy transportation through difficult and trackless terrain they stood in high esteem in the eyes of the Moghul Emperors and generals and for their services they were granted many privileges. As the Moghul kings conquered Southern India and strengthened their position, the Banjaras too settled down in different parts of the Deccan. When their duties as suppliers of rations and provisions to the Moghul army

ended, the Banjaras with their pack bullocks started trading and became a useful medium of transaction between North and South.

With the advent of the British rule, the Banjaras gradually lost much of their trade because of the introduction of the railways. The introduction of railways had destructive repercussions on their trade and livelihood. They were forced to abandon their profession and seek fresh means of livelihood. Mostly they adopted agriculture as their occupation. The Southern environment had a conspicuous effect on their manners, customs and practices. They began consciously or unconsciously to copy the local people. Gradually they lost their nomadic character.

The small hamlets where the Banjaras settle are called Tandas. Generally these Tandas are situated in an open space and at some distance from the main villages.

The traditional account of the origin of the Banjaras is contained in the mythological legends and stories which are popular among them. According to these stories the Banjaras are the descendants of the Rajputs and hence they call themselves "Kshatriyas". This is illustrated by the following story.

"Lord Vishnu is the creator of the world. He first created two Maharishis, namely, Bhrugu and Raghu. These Maharishis created both Raja Dhaj and Amba Bai and to them was born a son known as Kowar Dhaj. In turn Kowar Dhaj had Rajpal and to Rajpal was born Reem. Reem had two sons, namely Habal and Kabal. The direct descendents of Habal were Hindus and Kabal were Muslims. Habal had a son named Waged. Waged had Jogad, Jogad had Sandal, Sandal had Kasam, Kasam had Karan, and to Karan were born two sons namely Teeda and Chada. The descendants of Teeda are Banjaras. The descendants of Chada are the other Hindu communities.

The third and fourth sons Mola and Mota were among the disciples of Lord Krishna. Lord Krishna in his last moments, as their story tells, distributed all his Gopikas among his disciples. Radha and Rakmini were given to Mola and Mota respectively.

Radha and Mola became life partners and became dancers and acrobats. They used to go from one capital to another, exhibiting their skill before the Rajas and Maharajas. One day they happened to visit Raja Lohad Pamhar, Swamsha Kuli of Dharungadh. Radha and Mola exhibited their dance before the Raja. He was highly pleased with their amusing dances.

Mola and Radha demanded one of his children as reward. The Raja was happy to give away his son as reward. Taking this child with them they approached Raja Kasam of Rathod. Here too, by their exquisite dances they could get one of the sons of Raja Kasam. In the same manner they went to Raja Chetur Bhuj *alias* Phoolia of Mandvi. He too was pleased with their dances and gave away his son as reward.

Taking these three boys, Radha and Mola visited several places exhibiting their dances. These three boys were named Raja Pamhar, Karan Kathod, and Payan Chowhan. They were known as Gwars, and they married three Brahmin girls. The descendants of these three were Gwars or Banjaras.

In connection with the marriages of these three boys the myth runs as follows

There was one Brahmin whose name was Neelakantham. He had three daughters and a son. The names of three daughters were (1) Kakarache, (2) Modasche, (3) Nagarache and the name of the son was Parashram. In those good old days it was the custom among the Brahmins that the marriage of a Brahmin girl should take place before the attainment of puberty. As he could not celebrate the marriage ceremony of his daughters in time, due to some unforeseen circumstances, the Brahmin was forced to leave his daughters in the jungle.

Radha happened to see those three girls and they were taken back and married with those three boys.

At this stage we can mark the beginning of the clan system of the Banjaras. The descendants of Loyad Pamhar were known as the people of Pamhar clan. The descendants of Loyad Pamhar were Rajah Pamhar, Bhawayya Pamhar, Poona Pamhar and Abdu Pamhar. Abdu Pamhar became the Naik in the village of Agad Mandla. The descendants of Abdu Pamhar were (1) Ayat Pamhar, (2) Chayat Pamhar, (3) Leka Pamhar, (4) Bani Pamhar, (5) Tarbani Pamhar, (6) Mongany Pamhar, (7) Vislawat Pamhar, (8) Amgot Pamhar, (9) Jharpla Pamhar, (10) Noonsawat Pamhar, (11) Injrawat Pamhar and (12) Vankdot Pamhar.

These twelve names of the Pamhar descendants were afterwards known as the twelve sub-clans of the main group of Pamhars.

The descendants of Karan Rathod were known as the people of Rathod clan. The ninth descendant of Karan Rathod was Ratna, who had two sons Bheeka and Khandar.

The descendants of Bheeka were (1) Khatro, (2) Khola, (3) Modrech, (4) Khakroqha, (5) Gokalia, (6) Gidawatya, (7) Shi-

roya, (8) Poolya, (9) Kalu, (10) Malu, (11) (?) (12) Khadura, (13) Harka, (14) Peempa. (altogether fourteen).

The descendants of Kander were (1) Patalsee, (2) Ranse (3) Khetasee, (4) Kodyasee, (5) Venie, (6) Dhania, (7) Megavat, (8) Dhegvat, (9) Voodasee, (10) Meravat, (11) Karamtct, (12) Marajot, and (13) Rajavat.

The total descendants of Bheeka and Khander were 23. These 27 names afterwards became the sub-clans of the Rathod group. The descendants of Paya Chowhan from Mondvi were known as the people of Chowhan clan. The descendants of Paya Chowhan were six in number (1) Korra Chowhan, (2) Sapavat Chowhan, (3) Kalcot Chowhan, (4) Mood Chowhan, (5) Lawadia Chowhan, (6) Paltia Chowhan. The six names afterwards became the sub-clans of Chowhan group.

Besides these three groups, Pamhar, Rathod and Chowhan, there is a fourth group which is also a main group called Vadtya. The myth regarding the origin of the Vadtya clan is as follows :—

The Banjaras were wanderers. Trade was their main occupation. At one time their trade became dull and they had to cover heavy losses. They became indebted to Dema Guru. Dema Guru sent his desciple named Jaju, a Brahmin to pursue them. Jaju easily found their hideout. But in the meanwhile he fell in love with a beautiful young girl Hanski of Jharapla Pamhar clan. The poor Brahmin forgot his supreme duty and stayed among them. Some days passed in this happy romance and consequently Hanski became pregnant. In order to hide this sin Jaju and Hanski fled. Hanski gave birth to an illegitimate child of whom they wanted to get rid by burying it alive. They took this child to a banyan tree and dug a pit under it. As they were about to bury the child, out of the pit innumerable ants came to their utter surprise. Thinking it to be a good omen, a superstitious conception crept into their minds that the child may bear as many children as the innumerable ants, they did not bury the child, but named him Bhavvu. As Bhavvu was to be buried under the banyan tree, the Vade-jhad, in the Banjara dialect, so his clan was given the name of Vadtya in the name of the tree.

The descendants of Bhavvu were three in number . (1) Katajee, (2) Patajee and (3) Netajee. The descendants of Katajee were four in number (1) Darawat, (2) Ghuglot, (3) Lakavat and (4) Noonavat.

The descendants of Patajee were seven in number. (1) Halavat, (2) Koonsot, (3) jet, (4) Bharot, (5) Boda, (6) Jatot, (7) Teawat.

The descendants of Netajee were three in number, (1) Bar-mavat, (2) Padyee, and (3) Molot.

All of them in Banjara dialect are called "Ateen Takat Ghar Vadtyar". In this way we find four main groups among, the Banjaras.

Besides these four groups we find two other groups, namely Banot and Ajmera. All of these groups are exogamous, and no Banjara can marry a girl from his own group. Monogamy among Banjaras is the general rule but polygyny is not forbidden.

Besides these main groups there are three inferior groups which are being looked down upon by other groups of Banjaras. They are Bhat, Dhadi and Dhapra Lambada.

There is much difference between these clans ; Bhat is superior to Bhadi and Dhadi in turn is superior to Dhapra. There is no inter-marriage between them and their social status among the other Banjaras is varied. Food prepared by Bhat is eaten by both Dhadi and Dhapra Lambadas, but food prepared by Dhadi is not eaten by Bhat, but it is permissible with Dhapra. Both the above clans Bhat and Dhadi refrain from dining with Dhapra and even do not eat the food prepared by him. Bhat and Dhadi are the musician to the higher clans and they usually attend marriage functions and other festive rivalries. They sing the glory of the Banjaras, their past heroic and chivalrous deeds and take *Bakshish* from them either in kind or coin. Dhapra Banjaras attend all functions with their Dhapda instrument which is quite in vogue in Southern India.

There is also another group known as Koryas. These are the offshoots of the kidnapped women from other Hindu communities.. In olden days, these Banjaras were migrating from North to South, they kidnapped some Hindu girls and boys in their infancy from the villages and kept and reared them in their Tandas for their menial work, such as cattle grazing, cattle shed cleaning and other household duties. In this way number of Koryas increased and they were married to each other. They were adopted in each big family, and they bore the name of the clan of the family namely, Dhooky, Korya, Vadtya Korya, Pamhar Korya and Chowhan Korya etc. Among these different Korya exogamous groups inter-marriage is permitted.

Though these Koryas worked as servants in the Nayak's houses, yet they are loved and looked as their own children. They have the right to the property of the Nayak and hence are given a portion of it when they are married. The term Korya is used as an abuse among the Banjaras. Korya in Banjara means

adopted.' A Korya may become pure Banjara after five generations. He can then enjoy all the privileges which are enjoyed by the other major groups. He can become equal with other groups. Banjaras are able to maintain their dialect upto now. We find little differences among Banjara dialect and Gujrati or Marwari. One who knows Gujrati or Marwari can understand Banjara dialect very easily. We find slight change in the dialect among the Banjara of Telangana and Marathwada. Those who live in Telangana use some Telugu words. In the same manner Marathi words are found in the dialect of the Banjaras of Marathwad. On the whole the dialect is the same except the slight influence of the local language over it. It belongs to the Aryan language group.

MEDICINES AMONG GONDS, KOLAMS AND CHENCHUS

SYED KHAJA MAHBOOB HUSAIN

THE aborigines in the Hyderabad State, which has several great zones of hilly forest tracts where for thousands of years the remnants of India's most primitive and ancient culture have lived till now, number about 6,78,149 according to the Census of 1941.

There are 1,42,026 Gonds (Raj-Koitur), about 5000 Kolams (the 1941 Census returns of Kolams i.e. 746, are incorrect) and 3864 Chenchus in Hyderabad State inhabiting in Adilabad, Warangal and Mahboobnagar districts respectively.

These aboriginals who live in the thickest area of jungles have evolved hereditary knowledge of certain herbs and roots etc, for medicinal purposes. But they do not generally give out these secrets to any one—not even to their own kinsmen except to their very thick friends. It is said that these herbs have very potential effect and there are instances where even educated persons have tried to find remedy of their incurable ailments from those aboriginals.

The primitive idea that some diseases like cholera, small-pox etc. come through the evil spirit is generally prevalent among the aboriginals for they worship certain deities and give some alms to the dead ones by celebrating some feasts with liquor to their kinsmen. Besides they also use medicinal herbs, roots etc. for curing the ailments. Moreover, Yaws is also prevalent to a great extent among them and they seem to trust to nature for the cure of Yaws, as many of them believe that Yaws disappear after the victim has suffered for three years. Children are found to be suffering from Yaws more than adults. The vaccine for Syphilis i.e., "theosormine" has proved very effective medicine to cure Yaws, which is supposed to be a highly infectious disease.

It is a well known fact that Gonds, Kolams and Chenchus have a wide and competent knowledge of these herbs.

FRACTURE OF BONES

Gonds use "Khanduka Chakka". This is a bark of a forest tree. They grind the bark and take it internally with milk and water once a day. It is said that this heals fractures and general debility.

There is another plant by name "Ram-ke-ray", which is also used for the same purpose. This is also taken in the same way.

Both the above medicines are used by the Kolams also but they call them "Kandoor Chakka" and "Ramkeray" respectively. Kolas also use bark of a tree called "Dumpinimak". They grind it and make it into plaster and apply it on the fractured bone for three days. This is also used for healing the fracture of animal bones.

Gonds also use a bird for this purpose known as "Pokray", which in Telugu language is called "Kappera". This bird is generally found on cart tracks at dusk. To heal the fractures they eat the meat of this bird.

Chenchus use externally "Khanduk Chakka" as paste for animals and sometimes for men. Moreover they use "Ari Chakka" (tree). The bark of this tree is made into paste and applied externally and juice of the "Bai tree" (creeper) is extracted and used internally.

There is another medicine for internal use. The leaf-juice of "Noonaymunta" (plant) is given with milk three times a day.

BABY FITS

Gonds use "Kerajira" (wild pollen) to cure this disease. They first powder it and administer to babies with milk or water.

Chenchus take "Oosri Yeru" creeper, "Siriboddi Yeru" (creeper) and "Tella papdi Yeru". They take the bark of these three creepers and plants and make paste and give to the children in mother's milk or in water three or four times.

WOUNDS

(i) Gonds use "Khaayur" shoots to heal wounds. These shoots are grinded and applied to wounds.

(ii) "Gopadiara" (Dumpidi in Telugu) is another tree, whose bark is powdered and dusted over the wound. The Kolams also use it but call the tree "Dumpinimak". Daily they wash the wound and then only the powder is dusted on it.

Chenchus take the leaves of "Yerr-Buddi" (creeper) and

make paste and then it is made somewhat hot and applied to the wound.

And also they take the leaves of "Gayap" (creeper), extract juice from the leaves of the creeper and give internally to the patients.

FEVER

(a) *Typhoid* :—"Yellikevi" is a plant whose leaves are like the rat's ears. The Gonds take out the juice of these leaves and drink it three times a day.

(b) *Typhoid and other fevers* :—"Palakursa" is a plant whose bark and root are used after extracting juice from them. This juice is taken three times a day.

Seltay :—Juice of the bark of this tree is used.

Potra :—Juice of the bark of this tree is used.

Kamuni :—Leaves of "Kamuni" mixed with tamarind are prepared into a paste and given to the jaundice patients.

For typhoid, Kolams take 4-5 leaves of "Madnavli" (creeper) known as (Malay Ram Teeg) and prepare a cup of decoction in water and use it three times a day. When they prepare the juice they worship Madana Devi and after pouring some drops on "Pola Kamma"—a stone which is kept in the courtyard of every Kolam's house, they drink it.

Chenchus take the leaves of "Resk" (tree) and "Neerpepela" (tree) and take some pepper of the same weight and prepare tabloids and give them to the patients suffering from typhoid.

Chenchus take roots of "eela Maded" (tree) and keep in fire-place till it becomes red. Then it is powdered and given with ginger to the patients.

Cough :—"Bhoidorli" a creeper whose leaf juice is used by Gonds.

"eyay Tokkur"—is a plant. The ashes of this plant are used both by the Gonds and Kolams.

Chenchus take the roots of "Ramulkategay" creeper, and "alamulka Tegu" (creeper) and dry and make powder and use internally.

Stomach Pain. Barks of the plants "Salay" and "Thaka" are powdered and then given to the patients by the Gonds, internally, with water.

Kolams use the powder of the bark of a tree called in Kolami "Polaki", in Gondi "Polesa" and in Telugu, "Ponaki" mixed with water. It is given only once.

Chenchus take the roots of "Jittu Vargu" (plant) dry and powder it and with the powder of pepper of the same weight, given internally.

Carbuncle or Cancer : The Gonds use the leaves of "Goladeed" a creeper mixed with *Gulmohwa* flowers. After grinding and making into paste it is applied to the wound four times. It is said that this is a very effective medicine for cancer.

Chenchus take the roots of "Balli Rakash Gudda,, (creeper) make it into a paste and apply to the cancer.

Snake Bite :— There is a tree called "Kottora". The bark of this tree and the bark of the "Neem" tree are turned into juice and this juice is taken internally three or four times. This is used by Gonds.

The Kolams use the bark of "Kalgodi" tree, turn it into juice, separately make the juice of the bark of the "Neem" tree and mix them proportionately and give it internally to the patient for about 4 or 5 times.

The Chenchus take the roots of "Pennair Gudda" (creeper) make paste and give internally once or twice.

They also take the bark of "Chilla Chakka" (tree) and powder it and take with water internally.

They also take "Maila Tutturu" (copper-sulphate) and powder it and then mix with flour (maida) poured into one of the nostrils. If the patient is unconscious pure copper-sulphate powder is poured into the opposite nostril.

They also take Oppi's roots and extract juice and then pour it in one of the nostrils.

Scorpion Bite :—The Gonds use the leaves of "Rengapala" (Wild berry) after making it into a paste. This paste is applied on the place stung. They also give the skin of soapnut to the patient only once internally.

The Kolams use a peculiar medicine; they take castor oil and massage it on the private parts.

The Chenchus say that they do not get the poisonous effects of the scorpion, therefore, they do not use any medicines.

Gonorrhoea :—Gonds use the bark of "Dhaonrialmur" (white *plass* plant). They powder it and mix it with unrefined sugar (red sugar) and give it.

Kolams use the plant "Tanged" (Tadwad); they skin the roots, powder them, mix with the powder of 7 black pepper and give the mixture.

The Chenchus take the roots of "Chitramola" (creeper) and extract juice in lime water and take internally for only one day.

Syphilis :—There is no medicine either in Gond or in Kolams for syphilis. They neither have any idea of the disease.

The Chenchus take the bark of "Survur Teegay" (creeper) leaves of "Tella Nakkerā" (tree), bark of "Tella para Potaram" (creeper) dry and make powder and mixed with milk and powder of pepper use internally for three days.

They also take the leaves of the "Gandu Tirail" (tree), make juice and give with milk.

Potency :—(i) The most renowned medicines among the Gond for potency is "Bhoo Chakkoram Gudda" This is a root of a flat shape. The milky juice and the root are given for potency. Kolams also use this.

(ii) "Narvenja (Evur Buray in Kolami) are earth worms. They are dried, powdered and used with milk both by Gonds and Kolams.

(iii) "Yerjseer" (Godina Naringa in Kolami) is the male bear's genitals. It is dried, powdered and given with milk every morning.

(iv) "Gorre Chipota" is a small plant. The leaves of this plant mixed with the juice of "Bhuchakram is used both by the Gonds and Kolams.

(v) "Persa Kobray Veli (Kobar Teeg in Kolami). The roots of this creeper mixed with the "Bhuchakaram Gadda", is powdered and taken internally.

(vi) "Dobay" it is the queen of white ants. It is dried, powdered and given with milk.

(vii) "Banda Sakur" (Gondu Sankur in Kolami) is a creeper. Its juice is used by the women to increase breast milk.

Chenchus take the roots of a "Maka Potu Gadda" (plant) and "Moga Siri Gudda" (plant) mix with pepper and powder them; then they make pills and give internally for three days.

FOR MAKING ONE IMPOTENT

Gonds and Kolams use :—

I. "Gorrapuri," (Roka Porray in Kolami) i. e. common snails (thousand feet red worms) that come out during rainy season are dried and powdered and use it with tobacco in Chutta.

II. "Koray Khok" (Tole Kom in Kolami) i.e., the loose horns of the bullocks (these are found dangling) are powdered, and given.

The Chenchus also take the snails (Rokati Banda) dry them and make them into powder and give this powder in *bidis* to smoke or give smoke of this powder to the man.

Small-pox :—"Leamb" Aki (i.e. Neem leaves) are used both by Gonds and Kolams. The leaves are powdered, and pasted after four days of the start of small-pox. Before doing this they worship Pochamma, their deity.

Chenchus do not use any medicines for small-pox but worship the deity "Mutiala Amma".

Leucoderma :—Gonds use Leem Aki. The patient is to start taking from one leaf and every day adding one more upto 40 leaves. They retrace again by 40 leaves by taking one less and gradually decreasing by one leaf each day, thus come back to one. Next day they again take one leaf more and the process is repeated for 4 months.

It is said that this medicine has proved quite effective so far. It is used both by Gonds and Kolams.

The Chenchus take the bark of a "Chilla Chakka" (tree) "Pedda Mushti Chakka" (tree) and "Teega Chakka" (tree) and keep in earthenwares in fire place somewhere for seven days. And then take out, make powder and use for ten days internally. Moreover, they some times also apply the blood of the sparrow to the white spots, externally. They say that this medicine has proved very effective in an early stage.

Leprosy (i.e. Pedda Rogam) Malondi, a snake with two heads is taken alive, by Gonds and Kolams, kept in an earthen ware securely fastended from all sides, bury it in a dung heap. Then they take a pound of gram, make hole in the trunk of "Neem" tree and put them in it and cover it up in such a way that no water can enter it. They leave these things upto six months. After six months they take out the earthenware, throw the skeleton of the snake and only take the powder, also the grams are taken out. One seer of flour of Peeli Jawar is then taken. The three powders are mixed and bread is prepared out of it and eaten by the patient.

The Chenchus take the roots of 40 trees, plants and creepers like "Dommadola Gudda" (plant), "Kanna Kumar Gudda" (plant) "Pennir Gudda" (creeper), "Sanna Kuppi Ail" (creeper), "Pedda Jamnur Chakka" (tree), "Borra Jamalalu Chakka" (tree), "Gajjimonga Chakka" (tree) etc. etc., mix with other medicinal things like pepper, dried ginger, *shah zira* (cummin-seed) stone flower etc., make this powder and taken with water internally for ten days.

Eye Sore :—The Gonds put salt, oil of marking-nut (Bhilawan) and flies in a brass plate. This is pasted on the eyesore. (The use of oil of marking—nut in the eyes is little strange.)

The Kolams use the juice of the shoots of “Anduk” tree, (salay in Gondi i.e. frankincense (loban).

The Kolams also use the juice of “Lamdi” (plant) and pour into the eyes three times.

Piles :—“Monodol Tokray” or the shell of the tortoise is powdered and after making it into a paste is applied internally to the combs by the Gonds.

“Orrum” (Lizard Ghodphod) the skin coins on the back of the lizard are used for making rings which are worn in the fingers of left hand so that these rings might touch the combs during washing the private part. It is used both by Gonds and Kolams.

The Chenchus take the leaves of “Nakkerā” (tree) “Ganti” (tree) and “Tangerkonalu” (tree) mix them along with *dar-cheeni chakka*, cardium and zira, (Cummin-seed or caraways). They dry and powder these things and give with the curd of she-buffalo for five days.

Cholera :—Gonds and Kolams use “Olli and Appu i.e. onion and opium. They make juice of this and give it to the patient.

The Chenchus take marking-nuts and making it into paste in lime juice, give to the patient internally. They also use white onion’s juice and the juice of mint (Podina) and mix it with ass dung and give internally nine times to the patient.

Dysentery :—The roots of “Ghattera” and bark of “Salay” plants are mixed, turned into juice and given both by the Gonds and Kolams.

The Chenchus take the bark of “Tella Tousi Chakka” (tree) dry and powder it and mix it with sugar double in weight and zira and give with water three four days.

Rheumatism (Pains in the joints) :—“Pherangi Chakka” called “Chob Cheni”, (china-root) locally, is powdered and given, by Gonds and Kolams.

The Chenchus take the bark of “Tella Voppi Chakka” (tree) and mix with dried ginger, pepper and pipli and take internally for eight days.

Ear Pain :—The legs of peacock are burnt and made into powder and mixing it with sweet oil poured in drops into the ear. Used both by Gonds and Kolams.

Chenchus pour few drops of *Mohua* liquor in the ear.

Toothache :—"Barrenki" is a tree whose leaves are burnt, powdered and applied to the itching teeth by Gonds and Kolams.

The Chenchus burn the foot of sheep or goat, make powder and use as tooth powder.

Tonsil :—"Advi Ooli" (wild onion) is a root. It is grinded, and after heating it for sometime is pasted externally. This is generally used by Kolams.

The Chenchus prepare the juice of the bark of "Pedd Manu Chakk" (tree) and apply externally to the tonsils.

Inflammation of Hands and Legs :—(Oedema) "Booda Gasay" is a creeper, whose leaves are grinded and making into a paste, then applied on the body.

The roots of the "Doola (Kachkori)" is turned into juice and used internally both by Gonds and Kolams.

The Chenchus take the leaves of "Jammuru Chattu" (tree) keeping in fire for an hour and then extract the juice of the leaves and mixing it with the powder of pepper and *zira* use three times only.

Headache :—"Madar Buti" (Palundi) is a plant whose milky juice is poured into the nostril on which side the ache is, used by both Gonds and Kolams.

The Chenchus take the leaves of "Voil" (tree) extract oil and then mixing with castor oil and garlic apply to the head and massage it.

Whitlow (Pain on the thumb) :—Coat of cobra is applied to the wound, or any egg is taken, made a hole into and the finger is put inside. Used by the Gonds and Kolams.

The Chenchus take the leaves of "Jatta" tree and prepare powder and then mix it with the paste of marking-nut and then apply to the wound externally.

Wound inside the Nose :—"Gandmalla" plant. Gonds and Kolams take the roots of this plant, powder it, and mix it with the flour of wheat or *Jawar* and use the bread thus prepared.

The same roots are also useful for the pains in testicles. The powder of the roots is boiled in goat's milk and the *halwa* used as food.

The Chenchus take the leaves of "Pippa-Ku" (tree) extract juice and then mixing it with the juice of white onion pour it into the nostrils.

"Dumbal or Ggadda" :—"The leaves or roots of "Darra" tree are taken, made into paste and applied on the gaddas. This is used by both Gonds and Kolams.

Female Complaints :—Chenchus take the bark of the “Garju Chakka” (tree) make it dry and powder it. Then keep it in cow butter milk for 3 days. Then they give it to the patient three times a day for 4 to 5 days. And as they use “Karmun Gadda” (tree), the Gadda is powdered and given with jaggery 4 to 5 times. There is no medicine for this among Gonds and Kolams.

Haina's (Taras) bone is used for dog's bite.

Fore Naroo (Guinea-worm) and epilepsy, they take Dekeamli $\frac{1}{2}$ *tola*, and mixing with sugar, *ghee* and boiled rice, use it internally in coconut water. For Naroo they also use, *ajwayan*, (a species of aniseed having the flavour of caraways) and white onion and prepare paste and apply this with cotton to the wound and after three days they take out the cotton from the wound.

There are no hard and fast rules prevalent with regard to the actual doses to be taken, but as a rule for medicines to be internally administered the general doses for adults range between 1 to 2 *tolas*, for children $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 *tola*, for infants upto half *tola*. In case of mixtures the standard dose for adults is $\frac{1}{2}$ to one tumbler, and for children and babies upto $\frac{1}{4}$ tumbler. From this it would be obvious that from the quantitative point of view the doses are definitely above the average that are administered in the allopathic system.

But many Gonds, Kolams and Chenchus know quite a few medical herbs, but it is very difficult to get the information from them. Instead they are prepared to give only the herbs when required.

It is rather difficult to give the Botanical names of these plants. But there seems to be a wide scope for research for the technicians in this line and to know how far these plants, roots and leaves etc. contain the medicinal properties of any value. If only some interested persons take the lead and organize a systematic survey and research, there is every likelihood of their finding some effective medicines from the knowledge of these aborigines.

ABO BLOOD AMONG THE GAROS OF EASTERN PAKISTAN

D. N. MAJUMDAR

During the summer of 1945, the author was invited to undertake an anthropometric and serological Survey of undivided Bengal by the Indian Statistical Institute Calcutta. The Survey was financed by the Institute and by the Government of Bengal. Extensive tours into the interior parts of Bengal, and continuous work for six months made it possible for the author to collect a large amount of material, on the physical and physiological status of of castes and communities in Bengal. The anthropometric data are being analysed by the Indian Statistical Institute under the supervision of Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis.

The serological data have been statistically analysed and now it is possible to publish the material. In this paper we are giving the ABO blood groups of the Garos, of undivided Bengal, of the Mymensingh district, now in Eastern Pakistan.

The Garos of the Garo hills, are a Tibeto-Burman speaking tribe. The Garo hills round off a remarkable range, like an arm thrust forward to guard the eastern frontier and occupy an important position at the entrance to Assam, separating the Assam Valley from the plains of Mymensingh and Sylhet. The Garos, it appears, have not played any significant political part in the fortunes of the valley ; only in 1671, they came down to help the Ahoms against the Muslim invaders. They are divided into two exogamous divisions, viz the Sangma and Marak. In some parts of the Garo hills, also among the Garos and Lyngans in Goalpara, Kamrup and Khasi hills, the Marak group is called, 'Momin'. Each of the two big divisions is sub-divided into several sectors. Playfair gives a tradition of the Garos which traces them from Tibet through the plains of Assam reaching their present habitat. G. D. Walker says that this tradition is known only to the Chisaks (of the north-east of the Garo hills and the plains of Goalpara and Kamrup) but the eastern origin of the Garos is supported popularly on the basis of their physical features. The Garos donot claim any chiefly dress but any man who has acquired social status is called a *Nokma*. The *Nokma* is an ac-

quired social status and 'feasts' are indispensable to claim it. The Garos usually wear a strip of coloured cloth passed between the legs, the end of which hanging loose which is often ornamented with 'rows of white stone, half an inch long.' When they come out of their settlements, they wear a turban, the *Nokmas* putting on a silk turban. The Garo women are not very handsome and Col. Dalton described them as 'the most unlovely of their sex' but their human, gay disposition and good cheer leave a lasting impression on visitors. They dress in a red cloth striped with blue or white about sixteen inches long 'which is tied at the upper corner on the left side, leaving the thighs exposed; 'strings, beads, they use profusely round their neck and the lobes of their ears are dilated by heavy brass rings, scores or more, sometimes. From the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Garos earned a notoriety for their frequent raids on the peasants of the valley, and as reported by David Scott, the Garos entered valleys, made demands for pigs, goats, fowls, or any other article they took fancy to, which the cultivators of the plains voluntarily complied with and with which they purchased the 'forbearance of the Garos.' This tithe was known as *mata-raksha* or consideration for preserving their heads.' Rev. William Carey who wrote 'A Garo Jungle Book' (1919) described an interview of a missionary with the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir William Grey. Wrote the missionary, "The Governor said, 'Mr. Stoddard, you say you are on your way to the Garos of Assam?' 'Yes' was the missionary's reply. 'Do you know the Garos,' interrogated His Excellency. 'Not much' was the reply. 'Allow me to kindly advise you and warn you. They are a blood thirsty set of savages and deserve extermination. Government is now considering that question'. "But the Garos were not exterminated and they are still alive and formidably settled in their habitat. When in war, the Garos take heads and ceremonially inter them under stones or 'Kosi'. But in ordinary life the Garos are fully peaceful, and a decent tribe to live with. Once it is said of the Mymensingh Garos who were subjects of the Raja of Susang, that they were invited to a wedding feast in the house of their Zemindar. The Raja made elaborate arrangements for the feast and served the nicest delicacies in the shape of sweets, *halwa* etc., After the feast was over, the '*Nokmas*' or leaders of the Garos were asked if the fare was good. They kept mum but one of them voiced the feelings of the company, when he put a counter question, if the Raja was impoverished lately; for had he been as rich as he was before, he would have certainly provided for 'dried fish' a delicacy with

them. The Garos come down from their hill tops, to buy this delicacy and at Bang-Bazar one can see mountains of dried fish, which scatter their fishy smell round several miles of the country. The Garos are a matriarchal people now in transition, through Christian Mission activities and contacts with the plains.

TABLE

Name of caste or Tribe (number in bracket)	Percentage Distribution of ABO blood				Gene Frequencies		
	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r
Garos (142)	38(n) 26.76	32(n) 22.53	58(n) 40.85	14(n) 9.85	0.1784	0.2990	0.5226

A comparison of the Garo blood groups with those obtained for other tribes of Mongoloid origin will be of interest, in view of the importance attached to serological data for racial comparison.* The percentage of B among the primitive and aboriginal tribes of India and elsewhere, has not been found to be very high, and that itself is an interesting point to be reckoned with in the context of anthropological taxonomy. The Paniyans of Madras have been found to possess 7.6 p.c. B, (Aiyappan). The Angami agas show 11.5 p.c. B (Mitra,) the Konyak agas 10.2 p.c. (Br. Ass. Res. Com on Blood Groups,) the Khonds, 10.8 p.c. Korwa 20.4 p.c. (Majumdar) the Bantus 19.2 p.c. (Pyper) American Negroes, 20.0 p.c. (Snyder), Solomon Islanders 17.8 p.c. (Howells, 1933), Papuan 13.2 p.c. (Bijlmar) Fiji, 9.4 p.c. (Howells, 1933) Samoa, 13.7 p.c. (iggo) Pre-dravidian tribes of Madras 9.0 (Macfarlane) Australian Aborigines 8.5 p.c. (Tebutt and Macconnell) and 6.4 p.c. (Lee)

TABLE 2
Serological Status

Name of the tribe or Group	O	A	B	AB
Bhilsas (144)	30.55	19.55	36.11	13.89
Tharus (24)	27.08	17.08	37.50	18.33
Khasia (200)	33.9	35.0	18.5	13.5
Angami Naga (165)	46.0	38.8	11.5	3.6
Tibetans (187)**	14.9	47.1	13.9	24.1

* of R. R. Gates, Human Ancestry (1948.)

** The frequencies are not in conformity with Bernstein's genetical theory. We have explained the possibilities of discrepancy in the E A, Vol 1, No 1, Sept, 1947

The $B+AB$ percentages for the Bhoksas and the Tharus of Nainital Tarai, are 50.00 and 55.83 respectively. The Khasis, a matrilineal Mongoloid tribe of Assam, in the process of transition into patriarchal, have 32.0 p.c. $B+AB$, the Angami Nagas have 15.1, the Tibetans 38.0 while the $B+AB$ percentage among the Garos, is according to our estimate, 50.9. The Garos of Mymensingh, are in the process of transition from matriliney to patriliney and are much influenced by contacts with civilisation. The area inhabited by the Garos is highly malarious. We wonder if the Garos are not one of the tribes among whom the B percentage has been determined by the greater resistance, of B to malaria, a possibility which is becoming more and more evident, as we are getting corroborative data from malarious parts of the country.

Ruggles Gates also finds it a possibility, as otherwise the high incidence of B in India is difficult to explain. The Negrito influence in India is not significant and even if it were there, it could not explain such high incidence of B among some of the primitive tribes of India, Australoid or Mongoloid particularly these in the process of transition. Writes, Dr. Gates in a recent book of his, "If the B gave greater resistance to malaria, as has been suggested, its great increase in modern India might be explained." (Human Ancestry (1940) p. 357.

The serological status of the various areas in India where malaria is always rife or endemic, needs to be investigated to test this assumption; even if the data may not warrant such optimism, the need for planning and randomising in serological research, is too great to be ignored. As regards the racial importance of blood groups, it is necessary to mention that no general theory concerning blood type distribution does hold water; distributions are not clear cut, and consistent, but vary and wobble provincially very much as visible race features vary in subraces and local types, as pointed out by Prof. A. L. Kroeber (Anthropology, 1948, p.161). The use of serological data for purposes of anthropological taxonomy is yet premature and only succeeds when we select our data on the basis of conformity to theory or theories we advocate.

REVIEWS

THE FOUNDATION OF HUMAN THOUGHT—By Fr. Vinding Kruse
LL.D. Published by Oxford University Press, London (A translation
from original Danish) Price Dan. Kr. 30,00.

In the present times of ours, under an epoch of spiritual confusion in all the spheres of life the world is torn and seems doomed. Man's heart is bleeding under different and mutually working political and social systems. The intellectual world is growingly becoming suspicious of the values which have hitherto been regarded as the sustaining basis of all human activity. Whither the road? The author of the present work by thoroughly and systematically criticising all the past and present currents of human thought, offers to shed a light on the problem. He says, "Beneath these great political and social questions, there lies a still greater, still deeper question for humanity, namely the problem of moral and juridical evaluations." According to him, ethics is the scientific examination of the moral phenomena, jurisprudence the scientific examination of the juridical phenomena. He is of opinion, that these sciences should not only give a description of the world and legal rules, which are actually in force, but it will be their second and main task to examine after actual description whether it is possible to establish morality and justice on a scientific basis. And he asserts that the scientific way is the only way in the present turmoil of conflicting ideas and in the course of about 400 pages he has elaborated his thesis in his own way. He supports Plato in his saying, "Either the philosophers must become kings in the states or they who are now called kings and rulers must begin to study philosophy in a genuine and satisfactory manner." Again while putting such premium on science and knowledge, he is careful in examining and understanding the fundamental problem in all science and knowledge: "In what does human knowledge and scientific apprehension itself consist?" After tracing earlier attempts to place morality and justice and scientific systems on scientific basis from Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus the stoic and sceptic systems during pre-Christian era—which, however, were not able to give any scientific reason for ethical values,—and the Christian era upto Renaissance—which saw a total eclipse of free scientific investigation—right upto the modern times, to ethical nihilism which is again but negativism or scepticism, Part I of the present treatise ends with a profound question, "what is science and how can science itself be validated?" This fundamental question, as the author says, has been forgotten to be raised in all the trend of thought during the whole period beginning from Socrates to ethical nihilism of the present age.

The subject referred to in the above question is dealt with in Part II, the longest of the three parts. Here the writer criticises *in extenso* the theory of knowledge and analyses the 19th century specialisation of sciences with a series of new investigations into the theory of knowledge more or less connected with the new natural sciences particularly by thinkers like Ernst Mach, Kroman, Meyerson, Bertrand Russell, Herbert Iverson. On the one hand, we have the traditional morality prescribing rules for personal conduct of the individual without any real reason given for them, on the other, the negativistic school, proclaiming the free unfolding of life and asserting that to yield readily to instinct and impulse was healthy while inhibition of the impulses by the traditional moral rules led to morbid conditions. So, in order to counteract these widespread free tendencies, a definite validation must be given of every ethical rule for personal conduct. According to the author, the experience of medical science goes hand in hand with the common experience of mankind through thousand of years, and he suggests that closer cooperation should be arranged in future, between psychology, psychiatry, other branches of medical science and a practical psychological and economic doctrine of vocation or doctrine of aptitude. This being done ethics will be able to turn to the study of the difficult third task : whether it be possible to suggest or indicate roads that will lead to human happiness or satisfaction of the individual. He says, "ethical principles can be proved by the evaluating experimental proof, just like the principles or modes of treatment of medical science that is, as being appropriate to promote the welfare of man." The author has discovered after a searching enquiry that ethics and jurisprudence can be scientifically validated with the same safe starting point and by the same reliable scientific methods as all other science. In this enquiry he has first of all ascertained whether there was anything at all that could be called truth or objective knowledge about justice and other ethical aims and thus seeks to kindle a ray of hope in the face of the assertion of the impossibility of all ethics.

In the third Part, the subject of individual and social ethics is dealt with and in the concluding chapter he says, "That light in which man beholds his life in the coherence of existence, and his feelings towards it, is the ultimate synthesis." He feels he has a responsibility for his life and its deeds towards the spirit."

In the end copious notes are given on complicated issues.

Though the get-up of the book under review is good, we can not help pointing out that the printing mistakes are too many, indicating careless supervision.

A. R. CHAUDHURY.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE—By Peter Murdock, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University, Published from New York by the MacMillan

Company Ltd. Price 33/6d net. (Pp. 323, with Appendix, Bibliography and Index.)

This book is a valuable addition to the science of human behaviour and it shows how the sciences of anthropology, sociology and psychology are so correlated as to make proper study of such a science otherwise impossible.

In 1937, a research was undertaken by the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University and cross-cultural survey was made of 250 societies. The author hopes that more light can be thrown on the subject if at least a representative ten percent survey of all the cultures known to history, sociology and ethnography be made. The book is primarily influenced by four systems of social sciences, namely sociology, historical anthropology, behaviouristic psychology and psycho-analysis.

The term family is ambiguous and is characterised by various factors such as common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. From studies of 250 representative human societies it is clear that three distinct types of family are found, nuclear family, polygamous family, (polygamous used in the recognised technical sense as referring to any form of plural marriage) and an 'extended family'. In the nuclear family, the relationships are eight in number, husband-wife, father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter, brother-brother, sister-sister, sister-brother and all these relationships are studied in proper perspective in the first chapter of the book. The author remarks, "To regard sex as the sole factor or even as the most important one, that brings a man and a woman together in marriage and binds them into the family structure, would however be a serious error." There are other factors one is economic cooperation which also plays an important role... "By virtue of their primary sex-differences a man and a woman make an exceptionally efficient cooperation unit." "Economic cooperation not only binds husband and wife, it also strengthens the various relationships between parents and children in the nuclear family.

The composite forms of family and their two principal types are described.

The next subjects of study are social groupings based upon kinship ties—called kingroups. In every type of family organisation, the kinship bond which link the members to one another are always in part affinal and never exclusively consanguineal. "In nuclear family, the tie between father and mother, or husband and wife is one of marriage; incest taboos universally prevent their being primarily consanguineal. In complex forms of the family a number of members are linked by affinal bonds". One of the most definite conclusions of the present work is that kin groups are the primary determinants of both kinship terminology and marriage rules.

The distinction between types of kin groups is very clear, one is based upon a rule of residence, and the second major type on a rule

of descent rather than that of residence. "A group to constitute a genuine clan it must conform to three major specifications. 'In the first place it must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members.....In the second place, to constitute a clan, a group must have residential unity. This cannot exist if the residential rule is inconsistent with that of descent. Nor can it exist if any appreciable degree of individual deviation is permitted from the normal rule of residence. In the third place, the group must exhibit actual social integration. It can never be a more unorganised aggregate of and independent families like those residing in block in American suburbs' (Page 68).

Community, the maximum group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association' is discussed in the next chapter. In this chapter the author makes a fuller consideration of the social groups which appear peculiarly effective in channelling kinship and ceremonial association have been mentioned but not fully discussed as it is beyond the scope of the present study.

The most interesting chapters are on "Analysis of kinship and determinant of kinship terminology"; tables attached thereto help the more advanced scholar for a closer appreciation. The study of these somewhat dry statistics actually brings a reward in realising 'that the data of culture and social life are as susceptible to exact scientific treatment as are the facts of the physical and biological sciences.

In the chapter on Evolution of Social Organisation, the author points out 'that distributional studies by careful historical anthropologists have conclusively shown that cultural traits and trait-complexes tend to be found among contiguous or related peoples. They are usually exhibited by a cluster of tribes in a single culture area or in several adjacent areas, and are not scattered at random over the world. If they are found in more than one continental or insular area, they are attributed to diffusion if there is historical, geographical or linguistic evidence of a former migration or other connection, to independent invention and diffusion of two or more centers, if reasonable grounds for assuming a previous connection are lacking."

By a careful study of several types of social organisation the author comes to the conclusion that cultural forms in the field of social organisation reveal a degree of regularity and of conformity to scientific laws not significantly inferior to that found in scattered natural sciences."

No book on Social Structure is complete without a study on the regulation of sex for the drive of sex is so strong and imperious that it is capable of impelling individual towards behaviour which may disrupt the sweet and cooperating relationship upon which social life depends and society therefore cannot remain indifferent to it but must try to bring it under control. There may have been people who have failed to do so, but none has survived. "As evidence

suggests that excessive sexual deprivation produces personality maladjustments that are inimical to satisfactory social relationships. A society must therefore permit sufficient sexual gratification to maintain mental health and efficiency of its members as well as their numbers.

An understanding of sex regulation is dependent on an analysis of sex behaviour. "Socially considered, any act of sexual intercourse may be regarded as falling into one of seven major categories. When engaged in by a married couple, observing all social proprieties, it may be termed *marital sexuality*, when it takes place outside of marriage between two persons of whom at least one is married to another person it is called *adultery*. If its participants are related to one another by a real, assumed or artificial bond of kinship which is actually regarded as bar to sex relations, it is classed as *incest*. If the couple belong to different social classes, castes, races or ethnic or national groups between which sex relations are naturally forbidden, it may be called *mismatching*. If either party occupies a social status in which permanent chastity is required e.g. a priest in our society or a widow in certain other, sexual intercourse may be termed *status-unchastity*. If either or both are violating social proprieties or cultural taboos such as the temporary injunction of continence during a ceremonial fast or when the woman is menstruating or pregnant, the act may be called *incontinence*. The final category of *fornication* includes all other instances of sexual intercourse i.e. all sexual relations that are either marital, adulterous, incestuous, mismatched, ritually unchasteous and incontinential. It applies to intercourse which conforms to social conventions in all respects except that the partners are not married". (page 261-262)

In regulating patterns of behaviour that prevails between kinship of opposite sex may be divided, according to the author into five segments, from complete avoidance to marked restraint, from respect to moderate reserve, from informality to intimacy, from familiarity to privileged joking, from obligatory joking to extreme license.

The last two chapters (chapters 9 and 10) are devoted to the study of incest taboos and their extensions and that of social law of sexual choice. So in every chapter the tables added thereto are analytical and interesting.

The Appendix A deals with the technique of historical reconstruction. The author appeals to historians and anthropologists with historical interests :—

"As is well known, the records of departed civilisations, archaeological and documentary, are relatively rich in evidences as to technology, economics, religion and government but poor in information as to rules of descent, kinship terminology and other aspects of social organisation. If a technique were available whereby a social system fully described at some recent date or during an historical period of

rich documentation could be subjected to analysis in such manner as to reveal its antecedent structional forms with a high degree of probablity, it might prove exceedingly useful."

To an advanced student of Sociology and allied sciences the book is indespensable.

L. K. R.

MAN IN INDIA

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COMMUNAL TENSION IN UGANDA

RAMKRISHNA MUKERJEE

THIS paper deals with the origin and growth of communal tension in Uganda today. To keep it within a reasonable size, the views of the authors mentioned in this paper will be referred to only by the page number of their publications; their exact statements will not be quoted unless they are considered very necessary. For the same reason, the data discussed in this paper will not be presented in a detailed tabular form; only the final calculations will be noted and their sources will be mentioned.

Uganda, a British Protectorate in East Africa, with an area of ninety-four thousand square miles, was declared by Emin Pasha in 1890 to be "the pearl among the countries all round here". People came from various countries in search of the "pearl", and now the present population of about four millions in Uganda is composed of the Africans belonging to various "tribes",¹ and Indians, Goans, British, other Europeans and Arabs. These people are broadly classified into three communities, viz. Africans, Asians, and Europeans. According to the census made in 1948, the three communities in order of their numerical importance are as follows :

Africans (99.1%); Asians (0.8%); and Europeans (0.1%).

- (1) The writer would prefer to use some nomenclature other than *tribe* to describe the different African peoples. The word, *tribe*, in its true anthropological significance, should represent an *undifferentiated* group of people with little, or no class relations developed among them. But, as will be seen from this study even before the Europeans came to Uganda, these African peoples had a well-developed or a rapidly developing social structure of established kings and chiefs and of the common people (with or without domestic slaves).

The different groups of African peoples, however, have not yet fully deve-

Like the rest of British East Africa, Uganda has been the happy hunting ground for the White Man interested in "primitive peoples" for more than a century. The pioneers, viz. the explorers, missionaries and early administrators, always indulged in an ethnological survey of the country in their memoirs (e.g. Speke, Stanley, Baker, Lugard, Johnston). Some of them wrote what are still the best available ethnographic literature on the peoples of Uganda (e.g. Roscoe). Later came the anthropologists, economists, historians and political "travellers"; in fact, all who can broadly be labelled as social scientists today. They studied the function of some institutions among certain groups of people, or presented an economic or historical review of the happenings in these territories, or wrote traveller's tales to acquaint the Western public with the present-day situation in this part of the world. (e.g. Mair, Hailey, Coupland, Huxley).

In almost all these studies, dealing with Uganda, in particular, or with East Africa in general, there is an implicit admission, and sometimes a categorical statement, that the British Colonial Administration is fulfilling its duty of trusteeship for people "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" (Cmd. 3234), and is thus not avoiding the "White Man's burden" to uplift the backward Africans from their primitive social organisation to the present level of world civilisation. (cf. Johnston, Vol. 1, P. 298; Huxley, pp. 199-201, p. 365). Some of these social scientists would admit

loped into national units with a common national consciousness within each of them, and being differentiated from one another by this consciousness. In a separate communication the writer intends to show that the African peoples are now undergoing this phase in their course of development. For the present, to indicate the transitional phase in their evolution from tribes to national units (or nations), the African peoples in this study have been described as "tribes", in absence of a correct and accepted term.

The distinction between the common use of the term and as it is used here should, however, be borne in mind because the tribal people are generally regarded as living under a social organisation which is not amenable to such modern concepts as freedom and democracy. The classification of the Africans as tribal peoples has, therefore, a sinister meaning behind it. (e. g. Huxley, p. 365). It may be of interest to note that an interesting parallel to this attitude of the foreign ruler to the native people is found in the description of India as a "Village Continent" (Dutt).

that the British administration in the earlier period was not always so good for the natives as it might have been, but the general consensus of their opinion is that the present system of Native Administration and Indirect Rule is certainly beneficial to the Africans. (cf. Mair 1938 p. 286; Coupland, 1939, pp. 487-488, Malinowski, p. 161). Similar views have also been frequently expressed in the last few years by the Colonial Office in London (e.g. Colonial No. 228) and by the Protectorate Government (e.g. Worthington. "Notes by the Governor of Uganda").

The impression one receives from these views is that Uganda is a happy member of the British Commonwealth. But do the facts bear out these opinions? Even to a casual observer the daily life in Uganda reveals a good deal of segregation between the communities in all spheres of life, leading to the development of inter-communal tension. For example, there is very little social intercourse between the three communities, except through the missionaries. There is not a single African house in Kampala, the main town of the Protectorate. Similarly, in other towns also, like Soroti, Lira, or Gulu, the Africans live on the outskirts of the towns. The Asians and Europeans live within the townships but they live in separate zones. In small towns, like Gulu, this is very well marked. The Europeans occupy the best sites, the next best goes to the government, Asian and a few African employees, and then to the Indian traders; the Africans live in the "bush".

Almost every town has a European club, like the Gulu Sporting Club. Non-Europeans cannot join these clubs. They may be admitted occasionally only by special invitation. The Asians have not organised many clubs, except in large townships like Kampala or Entebbe. There are several African clubs; but, as Huxley noted about the Acholi Association in Gulu; "in the debating club, politics are barred. At the last meeting the topic 'Where does the rainbow come from' was discussed" (p. 243). Such precautions are even considered necessary for the comparatively "primitive" people like the Acholi, of whom she was told by "a man who had spent all his working life among Nilotic tribes": "We Europeans can never get to the bottom of the Bantu mind...But these Nilotic peoples—they think as we do". (p 240).

It may not be fortuitous that the experienced administrator's inability to understand the Bantu mind has developed at a period when the Bantu people like the Baganda are expressing some definite political views. Early administrators, like Lugard or Johnston, had no such difficulty with the Bantus. Whatever may be the reason for this attitude of a foreign administrator to the Africans today, it suggests the existence of a good deal of tension between the two communities. It is worthy of note that later Huxley had the occasion to meet and hear from the Bantu people and their intelligentsia that the Native Administration is reactionary and bureaucratic and that the Protectorate Government does not look after the interests of the Africans. The Baganda college students at Makarere told her that they wanted to be lawyers, because they cannot trust the Indian and European lawyers to fight their cases.

Evidently, such social and political inequalities have given rise to communal tension. But the economic life of Uganda seems to have given rise to much more tension than has the social or the political life. In fact, in absence of any outlet for releasing this tension in either the social or the political life to which the French Colonial Administration is stated to be better adapted (Mair, 1938), the growing communal tension, based primarily on the economic differentiation of the communities has taken a violent form. It is only in the economic sphere that the three communities regularly meet one another. Most of the Africans live on peasant cultivation; only a few earn their living as wage-labourers in some form of menial service, and an almost insignificant proportion of the Africans has taken up a professional career or a clerical job. Poor educational facilities are a serious limitation to the Africans in choosing a career. (cf. *Uganda Blue Book*, 1945). Moreover, even those who are so employed are put into a lower grade than the Asians. In the Government departments the average salary of the Africans in 1948 was £29 for the whole year ! (*Estimate*, 1948).

The Asians, barring a few very wealthy Indians owning sugar factories, cotton ginneries or some form of wholesale trade, are in control of the retail trade, and also work as subordinate officers and clerks in the government departments and commercial establishments.

The Africans thus come in contact with them in almost all forms of daily transactions. The Asians' position is thus intermediate between the Europeans and Africans. In economic gains also many of them are in this "middle" position. Thus, in the government departments the Asians' annual salary in 1948 was £ 220, on the average, which was about eight times higher than the average salary of the Africans (Ibid).

The Europeans, of whom more than 80% are British, according to the 1931 census, are the high-salaried officers. They run the government departments, and several banks and other commercial organisations, like the National Bank of India, the Standard Bank, Uganda Company, Smith Mackenzie & Co. etc. In the government departments their average annual salary in 1948 was £660, which was three times the corresponding average for the Asians and twenty-one times the corresponding average for the Africans (Ibid). Some of the Europeans are also engaged in export or wholesale trade, and a few in missionary activities. They control the entire political and a part of the economic power of Uganda.

For obvious reasons, the Africans are not satisfied with their present position. But their discontent took a long time to come out in the open. In 1944, probably for the first time, the tension between the communities was openly stated in a publication named *Buganda Nyafe* (Buganda our Mother), which the authorities noted to have had a "very wide circulation" (Whitley, 1945). Communal tension in Uganda did not remain limited to a few pamphlets as mentioned above. In January 1945 serious disturbances broke out, Army and Police had to be brought in from Kenya to suppress them. Several Africans were killed, hundreds were imprisoned. Although the Commissioner of Inquiry gave his opinion that only a few native politicians for their personal benefit had engineered the trouble, he noted in his report how the socio-economic situation gave rise to "dissatisfaction among the Bakopi", or the peasant class, and among those who "may be called the 'intelligentsia'" (Whitley, 1945, p. 12).

The scientists and administrators, however, did not consider that a fundamental change in the situation was necessary, (cf. Mair 1938 p. 288; Whitley, 1945, p. 2; Hall, p. v; Huxley, p. 365). But whilst the scientists and administrators were complacent about the situation in

Uganda since the first open manifestation of communal tension in 1945, the conditions were steadily worsening. In January 1948, the League of Uganda Citizens declared in an official circular, *Matter of the Moment*, that the Africans should not submit to the present situation of being deprived of economic opportunities by the presence of the Asians. On the 24th January 1949, the President of the African Labour Party wrote to the Chief Justice of Uganda, complaining of "Colour Discrimination". Furthermore, this upsurge did not remain only on paper. Another serious disturbance broke out in April 1949 just four years after the first disturbance, proving that the tension between the communities was growing all the time.

It should be mentioned that a few scientists and administrators have lately taken a rather critical attitude towards the consequence of imposing the Western Civilisation on the Africans in some direction (e.g. Malinowski). But such cases have generally been regarded either as "mistakes" in the mode of approach of the White Men, or as an "error" in timing the course of change in African life. (e. g. Malinowski 1945, p. 4, pp. 145-148, 161, etc. and Tongue). Although such a critical attitude takes account of the fact that everything is not as satisfactory as could be desired, it fails to explain why the situation is getting worse day by day. The root cause of the "trouble" has not been revealed, because, as will be shown later, the answer was sought in the socio-psychological super-structure of the society, and not in the basic economic relations of production (Malinowski 1945, p. 8; Tongue).² However, in spite of the fact that such a *subjectively* sincere attitude to the welfare of the Africans was fundamentally based on an abstract "value-judgment" of the Western Civilization, probably Tongue, with his "twenty years of close and intimate contact with a variety of tribes in Uganda", was getting nearer to the truth than many other scientists. He noted in 1935 (p.363):

"Closer contact with Europeans of all types, particularly

² Tongue noted "(The African) is possessed of great potentialities—shrewd and full of practical commonsense, he has not yet reached the stage when abstract ideals can make much impressions on him.....He is being given all the privileges of individual liberty without any preparation to enable him to realise the personal responsibilities that accompany it, with the unfortunate result that liberty to him too often means license." (p. 364).

during the hostilities caused by the extension of the Great War to African territories, has resulted in a definite loss to our prestige...the native is under no delusion as to our short-comings, and no longer regards us superior moral beings. This loss of respect has encouraged him to believe that he can, and will, attain an equality with us in every respect at a not too distant date".

If such was the effect of the contact during the First World War, one can imagine how it has been intensified during and after the Second World War, when the Africans went beyond their home territory, as far as Europe, India and Burma, and, on return, only less than 4% of the total number enlisted could be absorbed in positions suited to their training and experience during the war by the Central and District Employment Bureaux. "The majority of ex-soldiers returned to the agricultural pursuits in which they were engaged before joining the Forces".(cf. Uganda, 1949, pp. 82-83).

Even such a mild politico-economic explanation of the situation was not acceptable to many, although, as noted above, their relevance to the occasion could not be completely ignored by Whitley, Hall (the Governor) and other administrators. Thus, Whitley, in reporting on the 1945 disturbances, recommended setting up a Special Branch of the Intelligence Bureau of the C.I.D. "to keep the authorities thoroughly posted as to what was going on amongst the people, sense public opinion, and try to obtain the earliest and fullest possible information of any subversive activities." He complained that "like the Assistant Director, Security Intelligence" he has also "encountered a wall of silence" from the Africans he met. Therefore, he asked for a close vigilance of the native people, and, as a positive measure to stop the recurrence of such troubles, also suggested "encouraging the formation of social clubs especially in the out-districts...(in which) politics should be rigidly banned". (p. 29). But the attitude of distrust of the Africans towards the British had been so ingrained in the next few years that even an organised department failed to sense the situation in 1949. The prophylactics of social clubs also failed miserably. The 1949 disturbances were of much greater intensity than the former, and also involved many more people.

Evidently, the scientists and administrators have not been able to assess the situation correctly. It cannot be doubted that the situation is indeed much more serious than can be explained by "Mistakes" and "Errors". "Mistakes" may occur accidentally without any serious consequence in the long run; "Errors" can also be eradicated by paying local attention. But when an inherent weakness of a system formulates itself into an idea, and that idea grips the masses, it becomes an irresistible force. In short, reality has forced the foreigners—scientists and administrators—to detect the disease of discontent among the natives. But the diagnosis for a cure has yet to be made. They have failed both in judging the intensity and the character of the tension between the communities. so that the measures they used to stop them were futile. In British India similar precautionary measures were taken by setting up a Special Branch of the Intelligence Bureau of the C.I.D., but that could not stop the national movement: in due course of time it was victorious. It is, therefore, the duty of a sociologist to explain the situation in Uganda by taking into account the forces working in the society, so that due measures may be taken by the communities for establishing a harmonious life.

The writer is of the opinion that the incomplete understanding of present-day life in Uganda is the result of a superficial analysis of the effects of the contact between the three communities, *viz.* Europeans, Asians and Africans, and of the consequent evolution of the social structure. A society evolves by the resolution of the contradictory forces working within it. A study of the present situation in Uganda must not, therefore, be limited to describing the apparent prosperity of the Africans, because of the introduction of a cash economy through economic crops, or their happy life as a result of an efficient administration looking after the "needs" of the people by rendering better forms of public service and other amenities of life. A scientific analysis should go deeper into the problem, and explain what are the contending forces working within the society, and who *really* gains by the resolution of these forces which superficially appear to increase the wealth of the people. Obviously such a study needs both an historical analysis of the situation and an analysis of the present socio-economic structure which has evolved out of the historical development.

The following is a brief account of an analysis on these lines which

the writer undertook during his stay in Uganda. Before discussing the data it may be of interest to note that, from an examination of the available material, the writer has come to the conclusion that in Uganda—(i) there has not been any fundamental change in the relation between Black and White from the earlier to the recent period of contact, and (ii) that the British (with the Asians) and the Africans represent such contradictory interests that a resolution of these interests to the advantage of all the communities is most unlikely under the present socio-economic system. Indeed, the real prosperity of the African depends upon the disintegration of the interests of the British and Asians.

A Historical Retrospect : Pre-European Period.

The natives of the soil, who have inhabited this country from ancient times, are usually classified under three main linguistic groups: Bantu, Nilotic and Hamitic. The largest of these belong to the Bantu stock, comprising the most prominent "tribe" in Uganda, the Baganda and the others, such as Banyoro, Batoro, Banyankole, Basoga, Bagishu. The principal Nilotic peoples are the Lango, Acholi, Alur. The Hamitic stock is mainly represented by the Teso. In addition to these three divisions, there is an interesting group composed of the Bahima and the allied people, probably a Nilotic stock.

These "tribes" were in different levels of development when the Europeans first came to this country. Thus, the first European traveller found the Baganda living under a central monarchy and governmental machinery resembling the feudal system (Speke). Lugard, who "was despatched to establish the influence of the Imperial British Africa Company in Uganda" in 1891, described the Buganda kingdom as representing a barbaric civilisation" (Lugard, Vol II. p.I). The other important Bantu element in this country, the Banyoro were also living under a rival hegemony but their organisation was weakened by internecine struggles (Lugard, Johnston). On the other hand, the Nilotic people, like the Acholi, had a rudimentary political structure, mainly based on a strong patriarchal and clan system, although under the leadership of their chiefs they were also developing towards a centralised political system at the time when foreigners like Samuel Baker or Emin Pasha first visited their country (Gray, p. 121).

This difference in the degree of political development of these people had its effect on their overt reaction to outsiders. Thus, the Nilotic people, like the Acholi, offered their allegiance to the foreign rulers mainly for protection from the predatory slave traders and cattle raiders (Ibid): whilst, the same situation was utilised by the semi-feudal rulers of the Bunyoroitara and Buganda to increase their wealth and power by making the "primary production of slaves...a state monopoly operated by the rulers, who dealt with Arab traders as middlemen in the chain of distribution" (Thomas, 1949 a, pp. 31-32).

Because of this contrast in the rate of political development in the different areas of the present boundary of the Protectorate, the establishment of British rule in Uganda affected these people differently in the political sphere. From ancient times the African kingdoms are accustomed to trading with foreigners (Roscoe, Emin Pasha, etc.). Because of their long history of contact with foreigners, when the British came to form a permanent relation with them, it resulted in several political agreements, viz the 1900 Agreement with the Buganda Kingdom, and similar agreements with the Kingdoms of Unyoro, Ankole and Toro. Even such a political agreement was not considered necessary with the peoples like the Acholi, Lango or Alur.

As a result of the difference in the political structure of various groups before the advent of the Europeans, the economic life of the African peoples was also seemingly different. Thus, due to intercourse with the Arab traders from the coast, the Baganda had a greater facility in trade and in exchanging their goods than had the Acholi. After a few years of governing the equatorial province which included part of the present Acholi area, Emin Pasha was well aware of the contrast between the rate of development in his region and that of the region further south which was then ruled by the kings of Baganda and Bunyoro, etc. (Pasha, p. 125). But, although Emin Pasha was not sure whether it would not have been better "to say farewell to philanthropic whims" and follow the "southern" system at the expense of moral scruples regarding slave trade to bring prosperity to his province where slave-trade was strictly forbidden, the life of the common people, in fact, was not very different in both areas. They lived in a subsistence economy growing their food crops and hunting for meat

and skins. The primitive method of hoe-cultivation remained the only technique of production in all areas. Domestic slavery was prevalent in Uganda in those days, but it had very little effect on the economic life of the country. As explained by Lugard (Vol. 1, Chapter VII) this form of slavery should be clearly distinguished from the "acquisition of slaves" for trading with the Arabs, which was really a profitable concern. The domestic slaves were obtained mainly as captives in war or by inheritance. They became part of the owner's family, and very seldom were sold. Moreover, within the limited scope of a subsistence economy, they could not appreciably affect the social relations of production.³ Thus the common people in all areas, with or without domestic slaves, had similar ways of living.

On the other hand, the kings and the chiefs indulged in the other form of slavery (Johnston, Vol. 1, p. 216; Lugard, *Ibid*), but the money which came to them by trading with the Arabs in ivory and slaves was not invested to develop the state of productive forces of the country. In fact, the entire system of production in all areas remained as primitive as before. The money was used by the then ruling class for political intrigues, to uphold their prestige or to establish greater power.

This point is important to note because when the Europeans first came to this country, African economic life had already entered into a period of stagnation. In place of organising a better economic life of the people, changes in the society were being effected only in the

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- (3) The presence of domestic slaves, although of little consequence in this economy, was a potential reserve of energy which was later utilised with the change in the character of the economy during British rule. The production of cotton in Uganda today depends entirely on the available labour power. Except in a few areas, there is still more land than can be cultivated by the available native energy. The invested capital in hoe-cultivation is of a negligible quantity, so that the limiting factor in production today is human energy. The abolition of domestic slavery has therefore considerably helped to develop this economy. This material advantage derived from the "freedom" of slaves should be borne in mind, especially because, as will be shown later, it is the foreigners who *really* benefitted from the cotton economy of Uganda. From an objective viewpoint, therefore, the administrators' intervention in this period to free the slaves does not seem to have only a moral basis.

political sphere. As mentioned earlier, even among the Acholi an incipient political leadership leading to an established chieftainship was coming into being, in this period. But such a change in the political super-structure without a basic foundation in a developing economy was unstable and fissiparous. Reference has already been made to internecine struggles among the Bunyoro. Early literature on Uganda abounds in descriptions of such political strife among the Baganda, Banyoro, Banyankole and others (Johnston, Vol. 1, pp. 235, 592, 684, 716, etc.)

On account of this weakness in the social structure of the African peoples, whereby a few kings and chiefs with their courtiers and underlings were divorced from the life of the masses, the Europeans could so easily overpower them and establish themselves in their territory. It may be of interest to note that during the first period of making treaties in Uganda, the British pioneers made treaties with contending African chiefs and kings to help them to undermine one another's political strength. (cf. Thomas, 1949 b, p. 174).

This contradiction in the apparent difference in the economic and political life of the different African "tribes" and the underlying uniformity in the ways of living of the common people needs a deeper understanding that indicates that even at that period the Africans were not in a tribal state. A class organisation was well-developed or quickly developing among them, and the social structure reflected a significant difference between the life of the common people and of the chiefs and kings. The former indeed represented a large family of "brothers" with similar interests in life, while, the rival interests of the ruling class were dissipating the wealth and strength of the "tribes".

It is highly conjectural where this tension in the native life would have led the Africans if they had been left to themselves. But it is important to note that the European visitors of the middle nineteenth century took full advantage of this peculiar development of the social structure in Uganda (that is, of the "primitive" economy and futile political intrigues), to establish their "mercantile" civilisation in this territory. It should also be observed that, in the name of preserving the traditional institutions, the foreign rulers supported, from the

beginning, the interests of the past ruling class, and within limits have still maintained them in power by means of a form of "Native Administration" and "Indirect Rule". (cf. *Native Administration*. 1939; Clause 6 of the 1900 Agreement with the Buganda kingdom). On the other hand, because of the basic unity of the African people, the British rulers could easily subject the entire country to a uniform type of economic exploitation with the introduction of cotton, groundnut and sesame as cash crops by means of hoe-cultivation. But, such is the course of history that, by preserving the decadent political hierarchy and by reducing the whole country into one economic area, the foreign rulers also planted the seeds of their own destruction. The African people today represent a community of interests against their native rulers, the British administrators, and their associates, the Asian community.

Period of Conquest.

Life in Uganda in this period was characterised by the fact that several imperial powers from Europe came to Africa with a view to establishing themselves among the Africans. Thus, besides the contradictory interests of the natives within their "tribes", there now appeared two other categories of contradictory interest, viz.

(i) between the Europeans and the Africans, and (ii) within the body of Europeans, that is, between the rival powers trying to oust one another to secure territories in Africa. The social structure of Uganda in this phase of history thus became more complicated.

To examine the forces working within this social structure it is first necessary to understand why the Europeans came to establish their rule in Uganda. Needless to say, some individuals came to dedicate their life as Christian Missionaries to uplift the benighted Africans, and some also came for individual gain irrespective of any class interest.⁴ But colonising Africa was the true purpose of the

(4) Lugard gives a few instances of the true missionary spirit of the Christian Fathers in the early days of contact between Black and White. Johnston speaks of a Mr. Stokes, an Irish ex-Missionary merchant, who wanted to remain as an adventurer without declaring his permanent allegiance to any European power. But he was finally the victim of "cold blooded and wholly indefensible murder" by his own compatriots (Johnston Vol. I, pp. 230-231, footnote). This shows how impossible it was, even in that period, to remain as an "individual" for personal gains only.

coming of Europeans to Uganda, Indeed, Lugard, who came to administer Uganda before Johnston, was more candid about the British interest in Uganda than his successor. Johnston wrote in 1902 that the British Government "commenced the Protectorate from motives of pure philanthropy" (Vol. 1, p. 298). But in 1893 Lugard had written :

"I do not believe that in these days our national policy is based on motives of philanthropy only. There are some who say we have no right in Africa at all, that 'it belongs to the natives'. I hold that our right is the necessity that is upon us to provide for our ever-growing population either by opening new fields for emigration, or by providing work and employment which the development of oversea extension entails—and to stimulate trade by finding new markets, since we know what misery trade depression brings at home".

It may be of interest to note in this connection that in the entire process of change which was set in motion after the initial contact between Black and White, the Missionaries and the pioneer travellers and adventurers were either completely identified with the total interests of the capitalists of their country, and thus served as the "spiritual" or the "pioneer" flank of the entire army of the official and non-official rulers, or they were eliminated from the society's life.⁵

It follows from the above that the real need of the Europeans to come to Africa at a particular period of their history requires a more detail-

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- (5) Lugard mentions how frequently the missionaries became involved in factional intrigues as well as in national politics. The Wa-Ingleza and the Wa-Fransa factions were set up and their native followers were encouraged to fight, not for the freedom and prosperity of their land, but in order to establish the supremacy of their land, but in order to establish the supremacy of England or France in Uganda. Some of these missionaries refused to dissociate themselves from politics, and declared that it was their duty to instruct their native followers in secular matters also: (Lugard, Vol. II, pp. 66-67, 119, 452) Gordon, speaking of the Uganda Mission, said : "as it is composed, it is more secular than spiritual" (p. 183). He, therefore, wrote to the missionaries indicating what political attitude they should take. The role of "pioneer" travellers, like Stanley, in shaping Uganda's life under British occupation, will be described later.

ed analysis than can be obtained from general statements on the need to expand markets for trade goods. Usually in studying the cases of contract between Europeans and other peoples, the word "Europeans" is used without any qualification to connote not only a superiority of the former in material culture but also in spiritual values. But the writer is of the opinion that, as evidenced from the above, terms like "European" or "Western Civilization" should be qualified as "mercantile" in connection with the present study to denote the specific phase of this widely generalised form of material and spiritual outlook which was, in essence, the result of the best flourishing capitalist system in one part of the world (Dobb).

The term "mercantile" should not, however, be considered as synonymous with the school of Mercantilists or the principles of the Mercantile system except in so far as the "Mercantile trade-theories (could) acquire a meaning...as applied to the exploitation of a dependent colonial system" (Dobb, p. 204). It is not possible here to go into a detailed discussion on this controversy, but for a correct understanding of the situation in Uganda the distinction between the implied meaning of the mercantile system and its common generalisation on the "purity" of the profession of trade and commerce should be borne in mind. Dobb noted (pp. 203-204) :

"Their policy chiefly depended for its success on its application to a system of *colonial trade*, where political influence could be brought to bear to ensure to the parent country some element of monopoly".

The primary feature of a "mercantile" civilization would, therefore, be to look-out for new territories, and occupy the land as a colony. In the following pages the relation between the Europeans (British) and the Africans in Uganda will be first described, and later the relation between the rival European powers will be dealt with.

The first phase of contact between the Europeans (the British) and the Africans in Uganda was marked by the former's quest for new territories (Speke, Baker, Stanley). In 1862 Speke was the first European to enter into the present boundaries of Uganda. Samuel Baker discovered Lake Albert in 1864. Stanley visited Uganda in 1875 and informed the Christian world of the openings for missionary enter-

prise in the kingdom of Buganda. Later, Lugard noted (Vol. II, p. 591): "We have a prescriptive right in East Africa and its lakes".

The need for occupying Uganda as a colony was also made very clear by the British capitalists. Several Chambers of Commerce sent deputation to Her Majesty's Government to urge "the absolute necessity, for the prosperity of this country, to open new avenues for commerce such as that in Equatorial Africa should be opened up, in view of the hostile tariffs with which British manufactures are being everywhere confronted". (Lugard, Vol. I, pp. 379-380). The Government also was not lagging behind in this campaign. On 6th February 1892, the then Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, "Spoke strongly in this sense" at Liverpool. The next Foreign Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, even went further and "pointed out at Birmingham how directly to the advantage of the workingmen this policy of prudent but continuous extension is". As reported by the

of 2nd June 1892, he said ;

"I say that the future of working classes of this country depends upon our success in maintaining the Empire as it at present stands, and in taking every wise and legitimate opportunity of extending it."

The British ruling class was not just content with the knowledge of their true mission in Uganda, and by explaining the necessity of such a mission to the people for their "benefit". As cool businessmen they also calculated the debit and credit sides of the venture. The London Chamber of Commerce came to the conclusion that "the first expenditure...pay both by extension of trade and shipping, and in the growth of national power and status...investments of this class are invariably good in the long run,..." (cf. Annual Report—Section, Uganda—20th April 1893).

Having thus decided upon the soundness of their scheme to annex Uganda to the British Empire, the next move of the British ruling class was, of course, to establish a political domination over the Africans. As the history of this period shows (Lugard, Portal, Johnston), this was not a difficult task. The king of Buganda, Mwanga, brought under control, the king of Bunyoro, Kabarega was driven out of his kingdom, agreements were made with the kings and chiefs of Ankole

and Toro, the British Flag was flown over other chieftainships, and within a period of only eight years from 1888, (the year of the proclamation of the Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company), "the Protectorate was extended to most of the other regions which are now included within the present 'Uganda' and this term was thereafter applied to the whole territory" since 1896 (Uganda, 1949.)

The relations between the rival European powers in sharing African territory were not, however, so easily and so quickly settled as was the case between the British and the Africans. In consolidating her possessions in Uganda, Great Britain had to come to a settlement with the Germans and the Belgians, the two other Imperial powers which were then active in Equatorial Africa.⁽⁶⁾ It took a long time, from 1890 to 1910, when after twenty years, "on 14th May, 1910, three agreements were signed at Brussels by the delegates of the three Governments whereby their respective boundaries were, in general terms, decided upon." (Thomas and Spencer, p. 34.)

In the meantime there were several boundary commissions (such as the Anglo-German Boundary Commission, 1902-04; Uganda-Congo Boundary Commission, 1907-08) to demarcate the share of territory between the contending powers. It was necessary to come to a quick settlement because "in the last years of the nineteenth century German East Africa had become a terribly pushful neighbour" (Ibid, p. 29) and several disputes also arose between the British and the Belgians. Furthermore, from the beginning of this unsettled period, there was a "treaty-making competition" with the native chieftains to establish political rights of the rival powers (cf. Thomas 1949 b, pp. 173-174). Unfortunately, relations between the rival powers could not be adjusted so peacefully. Indeed, such was their lust for occupation, and sometime the tension between them became so great, that, on one occasion at least, military force had to be resorted to establish claims to His Majesty's territory (cf. Thomas and Spencer, p. 34). However,

(6) France was about to enter the field of conquest of Uganda at about the end of the last century, but a timely warning from the British administrator to Her Majesty's Government maintained the balance in favour of the British. (cf. Lugard, Vol. II, Chapter XL).

as mentioned earlier, finally the tension was resolved satisfactorily, and the only power to deal with the people of Uganda remained the British.

The above outline of the happenings in Uganda during this period was necessary not only to maintain continuity in the account of the evolution of the social structure, but also to indicate the unsettled period the natives of the soil had undergone to make them acquiesce to the rival demands of the imperial powers. It has been noted earlier that the African chieftains were used by the rival powers to acquire supremacy over their territories. But did the Africans gain, at all, by this tension between the European powers, as the latter (the British) had by taking advantage of the tension within the African life of that period? The answer is in the negative. However, it may be of interest to note that Mwanga, the shrewd king of Buganda, tried to utilise the state of rivalry between the European powers in his favour. The scheme, of course, ended in failure; the crude diplomacy of the king of a "barbaric civilisation" was much too obvious to the astute British administrator Lugard (cf. Vol. II p. 17).

From this time on there remained no tension within the community of "Europeans" in Uganda from the national or political aspects. The term European became synonymous with "British". The few non-British Europeans living in Uganda today cannot be counted as a separate force in any way. In short, the present use of the term European in the affairs of Uganda, instead of the more appropriate term British, is more an euphemism than a reality. Henceforth, Uganda became the recognised field for the exploitation of British interests only.

Period of Occupation and Experiments.

To a large extent this period ran concurrently with the period described above. But, while the previous period dealt with the common object of the imperialist powers to occupy colonies and the conflict which arose between them and with the Africans from their "scramble for Africa", the following pages will show how the victorious power, the British, set about the task of subjugating Uganda politically and economically. Such an account of the initial contact between the British and the natives of Uganda was

considered necessary because, as will be seen later, British actions during this period gave birth to the deepest political and economic tensions between the two communities.

In this period the social structure of Uganda embraced the Africans and the British only.⁷ The contradictory interests within the African community have been mentioned earlier. Similar contradictions did not arise among the British, because they came with the single purpose of occupying Uganda as a colony. Therefore, the only new form of tension which could develop within the social structure of this period was due to the contradictory interests of the British and the Africans. The British interests in this period can be classified under two categories —(i) establishing the political control over the Africans, and (ii) finding the best method of exploiting the subjugated territory. In order of priority the political control of Uganda will be dealt with first.

Contact between the British and the Africans in its earliest stage was characterised by an open campaign by the immigrants to grab the native's territory. The British administrators completely ignored or despised the rights of the Africans. Thomas and Spencer noted (p. 45):

"There was little time for study of the ethical aspects of native land tenure...If at all possible, however, the 'amiable farce' of treaty making was, on account of its political significance, gone through."

Major A. B. Thurston, who was one of these treaty-makers, has described in his book, *Africans Incidents* how this "amiable farce" of treaty-making was gone through; how in exchange of a few "shillings worth of beads" the chiefs signed the treaty without knowing about its contents or its implications. It may be of interest to recall that such a political "ceremony" was performed only in the case of an established chieftainship; otherwise, the "sites" were simply "appropriated".

Because of the weakness in the social structure of Uganda in the pre-European period, as mentioned earlier, no tension was manifest in this period between the Africans and the British over this diplomatic

(7) Although an appreciable number of Asians were settling in Uganda in this period, they did not as yet represent a distinct force till the next period.

expropriation of the former's property, but this, in this end, gave rise to the deepest political tension between the two communities and is now being expressed by the slogan of "Africa for the Africans".

The next move of the foreign rulers, which, in the light of their stated intentions, follows logically from the above account of the annexation of Uganda, is how did they intend to fulfill their "mission". Stanley, the explorer, clearly stated the British demands to the Africans in his letter from London, dated 25th June 1900. This was addressed to Zakaria, a Regent of the kingdom of Buganda, and ran as follows:

"The English want coffee, skins, ivory, rubber, gums and such things. Those who live with you should never be able to say that food is scarce, therefore, there should be plenty of bananas, corn, potatoes, vegetables, fish and meat. You will have a railway, and white people will be coming and going continually to do all manner of business with the Waganda.....If Uganda has nothing to sell to the White man, then we travellers who have done so much for Uganda will be utterly ashamed."

Stanley did not rest content only with doing "so much for Uganda". He also informed the British capitalists of the possibilities of the production of raw cotton in Uganda for which they were then paying forty millions yearly to America and were still confronted with hostile tariffs and fluctuations in supply. (*The Times*, October 4th, 1892). As will be seen later, Uganda's economy was finally based on the production of raw cotton by the Africans.

To fulfill the demands stated above, the British administrators set about in earnest. The importance of building railways in the new territories to transport raw materials to the mother country was early realised. (cf. Stanley's letter, 1900). Mr. Winston Churchill, on return from his tour of Uganda as the Under-Secretary for the Colonies in 1907, "anticipated its becoming one of the most valuable of our tropical possessions" and considered that "the Railway was vital to its development, and to its extension urgent". (cf. *Uganda Notes*. April 1908). Thus both Stanley, the explorer, and Churchill the administrator, voiced the demands of the British capitalists. It

may be of interest to note that "the railway is primarily a goods line, and rates have been adjusted to enable the principal crops of cotton from Uganda, to be exported as economically as possible; it is therefore the policy to counter balance low export rates...by high import rates." (Hailey, pp. 1583-4).

The British capitalists naturally reacted immediately to such a favourable situation. Several firms applied for concession to speculate on the best form of exploiting the country. (cf. Thomas and Spencer, pp. 20-21). The government also concentrated its energy to build railways (as mentioned above) and roads and new towns for trading activities within the Protectorate and a quick export of the resources of the country, (cf. Thomas and Spencer, pp. 22-23, p. 43; Hailey, p. 1557). From about the second decade of the present century the interests of the British capitalists were directed towards a definite end. Cotton became the most important cash crop of the Africans all over Uganda, (cf. Thomas and Spencer, Carter), and thus, for benefit of the foreign capitalists, as will be explained in the following, the territory was brought under one form of economic production.

The social structure of Uganda in this period did not undergo any significant change in the form either due to political or economic contradictions, but, although it was not openly manifest, the interests of the foreign capitalists being properly defined, the seeds of the contradictory economic interests of the British and Africans were now sown.

Uganda Today

The development of the social structure of Uganda in this period centred round the operation of the cotton economy. Henceforth the social structure consists of the three communities of Africans, Asians (Indians) and Europeans (British). It has been mentioned earlier that the Indians were settling down in Uganda during the last period when the British rulers were busy in occupying the country, and conducting experiments to exploit its potential wealth. But they did not represent a distinct social force until in present Uganda they could join in the scheme of exploiting the Africans through the cotton economy as an ally of the British capitalists. It would, therefore, be necessary to examine how, owing to the peculiar history of the contact

of peoples in East Africa, the three stages in the operation of the cotton economy, which is indeed the main (and practically the only) economic enterprise of Uganda today (cf. Hailey), are controlled by three communities. Evidently, a complete understanding of the origin and growth of communal tension in Uganda, that is, of the contradictory interests of the three communities inhabiting today, would depend on such an analysis.

The position of the Africans as growers of raw cotton is determined by their traditional occupation of hoe-cultivation before the Europeans came, and because since then there has been very little development in their socio-economic life under colonial conditions. Industrialisation of the country is practically nil; besides some secondary industries of the processing variety, viz. the cotton ginneries, a few coffee-hulling factories, one tobacco factory and sugar factories, there are no other important industries in Uganda. Therefore, they have very little opportunity to enter industrial occupations. As mentioned previously facilities for a fair amount of education is extremely limited so that only a small proportion of the Africans can think of taking up a remunerative occupation.

The last stage in the operation of the cotton economy is represented by the British. At the early stage of the growth of this economy, when cotton was traded in a free export market, viz., the Liverpool Cotton Exchange, the British as inland and overseas merchants mainly controlled this business. Later, after an intervening period of free export conditions in which both British and Indian interests prevailed, the Government machinery took over the control of cotton-sale. From the enormous cotton profit which the Government earns from this business, together with the huge amount of revenue, tax, and custom duties collected because of the cotton economy (Dalal), the government maintains the interest of the British Community within the internal economy of the Protectorate through an impersonal channel. 8

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8. The following details will show how the Uganda Government represents the interests of the British community within the internal economy of the Protectorate. According to the 1931 Census 68 per cent of the European population in Uganda (of whom 82 per cent were British) were gainfully employed. This suggests that not many of them settle down in this country; they come at-

The middle stage in the operation of the cotton economy is represented by the Indians, who form the bulk of the Asian community. They buy raw cotton from the Africans, gin and bale the cotton lint, and hand it over for export. Thus they play the role of intermediaries between the Africans and the British. This intermediate position of the Asian community between the Africans and the British is not accidental; it is the logical culmination of their long history of association with East Africa. The Indians (the term being used to include all people living within the geographical sub-continent of India) have been in contact with East Africa, mainly in the sphere of trade and commerce, since Roman times. But they never represented the ruling class, and all the time worked for the wealthy landowning Arab in the past and later for the British as "middlemen" between them and the Africans. (cf. Coupland, 1938, p. 27 : Lugard, Mukherjee). In the political sphere also they were intermediaries. They were the cause of the first British relations with Zanzibar (cf. Royal Charter conferred upon the Imperial British East African Company by Queen Victoria in 1888); and later also directly helped the British to conquer Uganda as soldiers fighting under British command (cf. Lugard, Johnston).

It is, however, worthy of note that their stability as intermediaries in Uganda was possible only under a colonial power. Although the

their working age, with or without a family, and leave the country on retirement. As has been mentioned earlier, they are in control of the Government and some large business organisations. In the 1931 Census 88 per cent of the "occupied" Europeans were returned as "Workers", of whom half were in the Government departments and the rest in professional non-government-occupations (excluding clerks). As explained above, many of these non-governmental highly paid officers can be maintained in Uganda because of the cotton economy. The same is also true for the Government services (cf Dalal, p. 195). Since the salary of the "European" officers form a large share of this expenditure, government control of the cotton industry definitely serves the interest of the British community in Uganda. As noted by Lugard in 1893, this is one way "to provide for our ever-growing population". Moreover, as the writer has shown in a separate communication a large proportion of the cotton surplus balance which is now intended for use in the Post-War period to "develop" Uganda (Worthington, p.12), will mainly serve the interest of the British. The Protectorate Government thus represents the interests of the British community living in Uganda, and also at Home, through an impersonal channel.

Indians had worked with the Arabs for a much longer period, they could not have thus established their position. But with the advent of British imperialism in Uganda, they penetrated into the country, and settled down to exploit the natives as intermediaries (cf. Johnston, Vol. 1, pp. 293-295; Lugard). Finally, their role in the life of the Protectorate was fully revealed when the colonial power began a determined exploitation of the resources and labour of the country through the cotton economy. ⁹

The Indians participated in this economy first as cotton buyers from the African growers and as carriers of the seed cotton to the ginneries owned by the British. It may be of interest to note that the occupation of cotton-buying was previously the occupation of the Africans (cf. Carter, pp. 2-3). But the Indians first ousted them from this occupation, and later also took over the ginning industry almost completely from the Europeans. Before the First World War the Uganda ginneries were owned by three British concerns. But the proportion of ginneries owned by the Indians gradually increased in course of time; it was 77% since 1930, and after the last war the figure rose to 90% (cf. A. R. A. D.; Government Circular on the Ginnery Sites Approved upto 31st March 1949). Thus they have fulfilled their role as intermediaries between the Africans and the British in the main economic organisation of the country, and have effected a substantial change in the social structure of Uganda.

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9. It has been said that "the almost spectacular prosperity enjoyed both by the people and the Government of Uganda is largely due to 'King Cotton'". (Dalal, p. 195). The British Government also often declares that one of their great achievements in the Non-Self Governing Territories is the introduction of the cotton economy in Uganda. But the writer has shown in a separate communication that "behind the propagation of this myth is a shrewd system of exploiting the native people for the benefit of the foreign capitalists" (Mukherjee). It has been proved there that while the African growers get the least amount from the cotton economy, much of it is taken back from them by the British rulers through administrative and commercial channels, and their lackeys, the Asians, who function as "intermediaries" in the operation of the economy as buyers and ginneries of raw cotton. Not only that, by means of this economy the Africans are permanently kept at the mercy of the foreign exploiters. The money that the African growers receive from this economy can somehow maintain their existence on land, and thus, while in fact serving the foreign

The social structure of Uganda today presents a pyramidal form of a few Europeans (British) at the top (0.1%); a larger number of Asians (Indians) in the middle (0.8%); and the vast number of African people (99.1%) at the bottom of the society. Because of this peculiar evolution of the social structure of Uganda under colonial conditions, the three communities today represent a class structure in a broad sense. The African sell their labour-power for production, the British in Uganda and the foreign capitalists reap the fruits of their labour, and the Asians obtain their share in the profit as intermediaries. And this contradiction in the capitalist system aligns the Africans and the British at two opposite poles of community of interests, with the Asians functioning as a buffer between the two and looking to the ruling class for a share of the exploited wealth. Since under the present socio-economic system, the welfare of the Africans depends upon the dissolution of the vested interests of the conquerors and their allies, (and developing the country's economy for the benefit of the Africans), the writer has come to the conclusion that it is impossible to resolve the tension created by the contending forces to the advantage of both the Black and the White, unless there is a fundamental change in the social relations of production in Uganda.

capitalists as the source of labour-power for their profit, they can continue with the illusion of living the traditional life as *sons of the soil*. In good seasons they also receive some extra money to spend in *dukhas* (shops run mostly by Indians) to buy clothes and sundries. But because of their extremely low income from the cotton economy, which was calculated to be less than the wages received by any grade of semi-skilled labourer, and is even less than the wages of an unskilled labourer in the Sugar Estates, the building industry or the Public Works Department" (Ibid), they cannot afford to invest money in capital equipment to mechanise agricultural production. For the same reason, scientific manuring or any other means of improving the soil is virtually absent. Thus, the apparent "prosperity" gained by the Africans from cotton only ties them to the stagnating economy of cotton production without developing the productive forces: They have no resources and opportunities to break away from it. Even the demobilised soldiers come back to put on this yoke of slavery in absence of a better chance in life (Uganda 1949, pp. 82-83):

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SONGS OF THE ANAVILS OF GUJARAT

T. B. NAIK

The Anavils, also known as Bhathelas, are found in the Surat District and the neighbouring Baroda territory; and is the second largest Brahmin caste of Gujarat. They are the best cultivators, of South Gujarat. The word *anavil* in Sanskrit means unspoilt, the dignified title which they claim. It may also be derived from Anaval, a Baroda village about fifty miles east of Surat, known for its hot springs. Of the term Bhathela, two explanations are offered: one would connect it with the tribe of Bhats; the other deriving it from *bhat*, rice, translated as ricemen, an appropriate term for them as they are the most successful rice-growers. There is also a theory that some later Brahmin settlers from North India called them *bhrastalas*, the fallen, and hence the name. It seems they are the earliest settlers in South Gujarat because unlike other Brahmins the whole body of the Anavils are laymen or Grihasthas; and it was probably under their management that South Gujarat was redeemed from forest and brought under cultivation.

Almost all the Anavils worship Shiva. Though obstinate and somewhat rough and quarrelsome, they are a contented and orderly community, enterprising, friends to education, hospitable and liberal. Though the majority are peasants, many have taken to liberal professions; some of them are in the administrative and educational services, as well as in the political life also; and many more are becoming traders and town dwellers. The caste is thus losing its rural moorings and it is very likely that along with it, may lose before long some of its cultural peculiarities, its queer customs and its folk-songs, the latter especially are fast disappearing. In the present paper I have tried to give some of the old folksongs of this people. Most of them have been collected by me, the rest supplied by my wife.

I.

The Anavil girls sit at the hand-mill to mill wheat, *juwar* or any other grain. To relieve them of the fatigue and monotony of this work, scores of songs exist. There is nothing to beat these songs in their gentle pathos, sweet poignancy and a masterly depiction of the social forces that touch the hearts of all. These are known as *Khayanan* in the whole of Gujarat. A few examples follow :

(1)

Pearls are broken :
My heart has gone sour;
I don't want to obey
The words of my man.

(2)

If dies my sok¹
I will dye my Sari gay
And tie my man
An embroidered turban, hay.

(3)

Rama weeps
Laxman wipes his tears
Bharat comes and asks :
"Where is Bhabhi, brothers?"

(4)

The pet cuckoo
Plays in the court
My dear baby X
Dines with her grandpa.

1. Co-wife.

(5)

Radha is my father's daughter.
And Krishna his son-in-law
Vasudev is his Vewai
My father is fortunate.

(6)

Much of water
Is bad in a little of whey
Comes from a big family
That wife of my Thakerbhai.

(7)

More than my brother
I love his sons;
Brother has gone down in my eyes
Because of you, O Bhabhi.

(8)

A copper dish
Inlaid with jewels
Will be used by my brother
For his Sandhya.¹

(9)

Surat was burnt
And Rander, populated.
The Britons made mischief
When my brother was alone.

(10)

I finish my cooking
And sit out-side
I wait and wait, to see
If my brother comes.

1. Morning prayer

(11)

My Subodbhai is a Vakil
 And Vinodbhai a doctor
 Rameshbhai begins his study
 With English A. B. C.

(12)

I wash rice
 And "Osaman 1" is left.
 My Bhabhi looks squint
 O, in the reign of my brother.

(13)

My brother is a simpleton
 And Bhabhi a crooke
 I, the sister, lost
 A place in the brother's heart.

(14)

Go to Bombay: from there Malad is no far
 Try to open the talks
 For the betrothal of my sister.

(15)

In the street
 Plays my Bharati dear
 A shining pearl's necklace
 Adorns her neck.

(16)

I had gone,
 Just for a stroll
 The fool Chhotu Vashi 2
 Could not recognise me.

1. Brother-in-law.

2. Decantation.

(17)

Some body planted
A *bet*-tree on the village skirt
I am helpless, poor
Without mother dear.

(18)

As when breaks a pot
The sherd tumbles here and there,
The daughter's lot
Is the same when her mother dies.

(19)

My father found on the Tapti banks,
A *sasra*¹ for me
But he did not try
To see that man's face !

(20)

There's scarcity of water
In the big city Surat
My brother will go
And construct some *vaws*².

(21)

With an axe on his shoulder
The husband looks a Negro
I wonder why
Father gave him his daughter !

(22)

The daughter and her mother met
On the bank of the lake

1. Husband's place.

2. Step-wells.

They wept and tears ran down
To fill the lake to the brim.

(23)

O, my father dear
What crimes have I committed ?
That on Holi and Dewali
I have to stay at my husband's ?

(24)

The Khari went dry
And the bucket was filled
Mother-in-law is just;
I like her very much

(25)

The machines of Kashi
Go very slow
Rides on the front horse
The brother of my Kusumben

(26)

Sweet to the 'in-laws
Indispensable at her father's
Like Indrapuri in Moshal ¹
Is my daughter dear.

(27)

With mother in my Mahier
With Sasu in my Sasra
Very little I know
How the days slip by ?

(28)

Which sister will cook ?

1. Mother's parent's place.

And which will serve
And who will give
A little *ghee* in food?

(29)

Dear to my father
I sat on the window
But O, once
He could not know me ?

(30)

I go to fetch water
My pots give way
My brother at home
Asks, "Where is my ben?"

II.

The marriage songs which follow in this section will give an idea as to what the whole ceremony is like. Songs 1 and 2 are sung when invitations are sent to the relatives, specially to the sister who is very important sociologically for the whole occasion. While the third song suggests that all the preparations are made ready, number four is sung when eatables are prepared some days in advance, when it is what they call "peno chadhoo". From four to six days everybody is happy, preparing for the day and singing. In the mornings and evenings they sing song, especially numbers five and six and seven are for the morning and the eighth song can be sung any time. On the day of the actual marriage, a *chori* or a small square platform has to be prepared where fire can be lit as a witness to the union of the bride and the bridegroom. In the afternoon the women go to bring earth, *gormati*, for this *chori* singing song number nine. When the bridegroom's party starts for the village of the bride they sing number ten. After they reach the bride's village, they are given a place where they can rest for a while. Then they are invited to the marriage booth by the bride's party which sings song number eleven; they, of course, go and sit in the *mandap* when both

parties go on praising their own and abusing the other party. Songs 12, 13 and 14 will be sufficient to show this. The last one is sung when the bride goes to her husband's place.

1

An inkpot of gold and a silveren pen
Write the invitation cards with these in details,
Let the first card be sent to Bilimora
Whence will come my sister Shantaben.

It's a long way from here so I will require a motor-car
My *datan* shall be in a German-silver *lota* together with
brush and powder.

Ganges water shall be the water to wash my face.

For bath, O brother mine, a copper tub

Nine yards deep filled with *gangajal*,

Shall be furnished for me.

For dress, brother mine, a silken petticoat,

A Banarasi sadi and potolas of Patan

Shall be given to me.

My meal shall have courses of five sweets,

thirty-two vegetables and *chatnis* numerous.

And for *mukhvas* you shall give me

betels and cloves, betel-leaves from the

South and cardamons from Arabia.

And sleep I shall on a beautiful cot

coverd with *mashru* mattresses and silken bed
sheets.

If you can supply me these, O brother,

I will surely come to attend the marriage at your place.

Otherwise I will remain out of the picture,

2

In the *mandap* bring a stool

And invite the Joshis from Ashapuri

For I want to write an invitation card

Call our *bhanel* Girishbhai,

For I want to write an invitation card
 Tie it to the hem of my brother,
 Let him go to our sister's place,
 "O sister, are you asleep or awake?"
 Come with me to your *mahiar*
 There's a marriage ceremony there."
 "O brother, whence do you come
 And whither do you go?
 O stranger, what king's son you are?
 And who is your mother?"
 "Excuse me brother mad that I was,
 I could not recognise the brother that came to my door."
 In the front are jingling the bells of my brother's
 house
 And behind it comes the chariot in which is
 seated my sister.

(3)

Tie seven sweatmeat packets with threads of
 real pearl,
 Send one of them to the *Joshi* and tell him :
 "O *Joshi*, come soon to find out the auspicious
 day."
 Send the second one to the cloth dealer;
 Ask him to come with all the valuable clothes.
 Let the third be sent to the *bania*
 And let him bring the food grains all.
 The fourth must be sent to the potter
 So that he brings the *maydev* for the occasion.
 In this way all the seven packets are sent to different
 professionals so that they might come earlier for the
 preparations of the marriage occasion.

(4)

A *champo* is planted in *Dwarika*
 I do not know his name who planted it
 He is *Magandhai*; there's marriage at our place

He has an axe on his shoulders
 I do not know the name of that wood cutter.
 He is X; there's marriage at our place.
 She has keys tucked in her belt and issues orders.
 I do not know the name of that big gun.
 She is our Sitabai; there's marriage at our place.
 I do not know the name of the teacher who has
 a pen behind his ears
 He is our X: there's marriage at our place.
 Who is it that laughs and skips over the whole
 house?
 She is our sister; there's marriage at our place.
 Who is it that is cooking in the kitchen?
 She is the daughter-in-law of the house; there's
 marriage at our place.

(5)

Repeat Rama's name.
 In the early morning, Devki asked for *dātan*
 She asked for it twice, thrice, repeatedly.
 But Rukshmani did not listen to her.
 From the attic came down Shri Krishna.
 "My mother is as auspicious as the Ganga.
 And who dare insult her?"
 "The woman Rukshmani in our family
 Did not hear me, son!"
 Get up my brother, Laxman
 Take your sister-in-law to the Ganga bank.
 Build her a hut there and keep her in it.
 Satisfy, thus, our mother's wishes."
 "O dear, what is my fault?
 And why do you send me away?"
 "O fair one, you are the apple of my eye
 And so satisfy my mother's mind.
 Stay there for some days;
 Come home after the sixth month complete."

(6)

The sun rose like the petals of *kewda*
 A beautiful morning is this.
 Get up from your sleep, husband of Mani Vahu,
 A beautiful morning is this.
 Take the *lota* of water and *datan*
 A beautiful morning is this.
 Sit near the *Tulsi* plant to brush your teeth
 A beautiful morning is this.
 Rub your face with a towel
 A beautiful morning is this.
 Repeat Shri Rama's name
 A beautiful morning is this.

(7)

A small platform on a big one ;
 On it the branches of this *rai champā* sat a parrot
 And chirped some words.
 All my gods were roused from sleep :
 From Dwarka awoke Ranchhodji,
 In Kashi, Vishwanath and in Andeshwar god Shiva,
 In Kolwa woke Hanuman
 What did all the four do ?
 They put all the savour in our marriage occasion,
 Chirped the parrot and awoke my four brothers.
 From the attic rose my brother X
 From the sleeping room brother Y.
 Brother Z from the front room and from the cradle
 Awoke my little brother Ramanlal.
 What did all the four do ?
 They put all the savour in our marriage occasion.
 A small platform or a big one,
 On it grew a plant of *bhang*
 On which sat a crow and muttered some ugly words.
 All our *jamaïs* were roused from sleep
 From the *gali* woke, from the dung hill B

From the forest C and from the desert D
 What did all the four do ?
 They swept clean all over dung hills.
 Welcome is the marriage ceremony.

(8)

In the prime of her youth is our Shantaben
 She does not speak, however try her father may.
 "O daughter, why is your face woe begone and eyes
 terrified ?

"Father, my face is happy looking and eyes bejewelled.
 Please do not find out a black husband for me :
 Please do not find out a black husband for me :
 The black will put the whole family to shame "

In the prime of her youth is Shantaben
 She does not utter a word, however try her uncle
 may

"O niece, why are you woe begone and why your
 eyes tear filled :

"O uncle, I am alright.
 Please do not find out a tall husband for me :
 The tall will snap the *torans* away."

To the brother thus asked, she says, "Don't find fair
 husband for me.

He will be very much proud "

To the Mama thus asked she says, "Don't find out a
 dwarf husband for me ;

He will be easily blown away."

To the brother-in-law she says, "Please find me an average
 man for a husband.

He will bring fame to our whole line."

(9)

Please bring the *gormati* from the Jamuna and the Ganga
 And prepare *choris* out of it.

Call painters from Surat to draw pictures on them.
 And call *rangaris* from Bombay to colour them

Invite *Joshis* from *Ashapuri* and ask them find out the
muhurat.

Please bring the *gormati* and prepare *choris* out of it.

(10)

Saffron sprinkled the bridegroom rides the house.

Him will see his father with pride.

Praise be to my brother

He rides the horse and his uncle will see him.

Praise be to my brother;

His sister and his aunt, his mama and his brother

Will see him with pride.

Praise be to my bride-groom brother.

(11)

Red is the *Kasumba paghdi*

And round it is a border of *jari*

O *Vewais*, come soon with your *varghoda*

Bring what our dear one desires:

A necklace of real pearl you must bring.

O *Vewais*, come very soon to the marriage booth.

Bring for our dear one a pair of silken clothes.

Red is the *Kasumba paghdi* and round it a border of *jari*

O *Vewais*, come soon to the marriage booth.

(12)

The bride's party is adorning the marriage booth like
bankrupts.

And like a jewel is the brother of our sister.

The bride groom's party is sitting in the verandah like
a bankrupt group.

And like a worm in the gutter is the brother of the groom,

Like the stitches of embroidery is the uncle of the bride

The bankers are adorning the marriage booth

But like a babool thorn is the uncle of the groom

The bride-groom's party is sitting like a group of
bankrupts.

Is going away.

Look back your father hearkens you

You are going leaving his affection to your husband's place
why did you change so soon?

Look back, your mother beckons you.

You are going, tearing off her heart to your husband's
place.

Why did you change so soon?

[In this way all her relations are referred to.]

III.

Alunan, a festival of young girls who are not married is observed in the month of Akhad, beginning from the 11th day of the month and being celebrated on the 2nd of the dark half of the same month. The girls cannot eat anything but wheat or rice, ghee, chillies and sugar. Salt is taboo and therefore, the festival is called Alunan, saltless. Walking is also prohibited. They worship *Rannya-dev*, sprouted grains, probably a goddess of fertility and then marry this *Rannya-dev* to some of their friends. On all the five days, the girls dance many dances: *fudardi* which is a duet where two girls holding each others' hands move round and round at top speed, *popto ghumavavo* in which one girl sits on her legs holding the thighs of another who stands, both of them the foxtrot and *dolaniyum* a cross-going dance. In all these, songs are inevitable e. g. is sung with *dolaniyan*; 13th goes with *fudardi* and 11th is sung while *popto ghumavavo* is danced.

(1)

On whose head did I see a green basket?

I saw it on the head of Dolto, the son-in-law of the
family.

In whose stable did I see him picking up cowdung?

I saw him in my brother's stable.

I took him to be a *Khalpo* and beat him with shoes

I took him to be a *Dhed* and pelted him with stones

I took him to be a *Dubla* and beat him with my sticks.

He says "For god's sake do not beat me;

I am *Khandubhai's* son-in-law.

(2)

Magno, the son-in-law is fond of vegetables;
 He goes out to pick mangoes from the trees.
 On his head is a basket load of mangoes and a bundle
 of fuel-sticks.
 O Shantaben, take them off his head, your spouse that
 he is
 Shantaben took the load off his head and cut his skin
 with her finger.
 Weeping and sighing he went to his mother;
 "Come my dear one, who made you weep ? asked she,
 "It was the sister of Thakarbhai, mother" he replied.

(3)

In a field of green grams
 Entered a bullock
 Magno, the son-in-law says "He is my father".
 While running downfields he fell down
 He was tied with leathern ropes;
 And carried home
 Shantaben prepared *roti*;
 But one was a little less fried;
 So she was beaten twenty-times with a *belan*.
 In a field of green grams
 Entered a buffalo.
 Magno says: "It is my mother".
 While running upfield she fell down.
 She was tied with a rope and carried home.

(4)

A good red rose
 Was blooming in the rose-garden,
 When come the *sasra* to call her home;
 A red red rose
 Was blooming in the rose-garden
 When come the *sasu* to call her home;
 And brings a pair of carts to carry her home.

In this way all the in-laws are shown to be coming to invite the small daughter-in-law to her husband's place and they bring not one but two conveyances so that she may be pleased to go with them; then at the end;

A red red rose
Was blooming in the rose-garden,
When came the husband and to call her home,
He brings a pair of whips to ask her go home.

(5)

O mother, I had gone apicking *Kantolas*
There a serpent stung me; [repeat this line, O Amba]
Call my *sasra*, O mother ;
She will pound those leaves
Call my husband, O mother,
He will bring me a pot of nectar ;
Call my cowife, O mother ;
In the pot is my *Kathli*
Let her adorn her neck.
In the box are my clothes
Let her wear them
In the chest is my *ghond wank*
Give that also to her.

(6)

The witch comes and goes
And wanders uselessly :
The sister has put on a *Chundadi*.
I want to know, O Maniben
What's your father like ?
The sister has put on a *Chundadi*
Like a king in his *darbar*
Is Maniben's father !
The sister has put on a *Chundadi*
I want to know, O Ranchhodji
What's your father like ?

The sister has put on a *Chundadi*.

Like a serpent in the forest.

Is Ranchhodji's father :

The sister has put on a *Chundadi*.

In this way all the relatives of the girl are compared to good things; those of the boy to bad ones.

(7)

A tomtom is beating,

Who is that brave brother of mine that marries a second wife?

It is my brave M. that marries a second wife

And who is that wife of his that weeps in the house?

It is P., his queen, that weeps in the house.

And who is her *Nanand* that consoles her?

"Don't weep, Bhabhi, my brother will not bring a second wife.

(8)

A creeper was climbing a hedge

It was seen by my *Deyar*

My *Jeth* had plucked it

My *Sasu* started cooking.

Her eyes are blue and she looks a cat!

My *Sasra* sat for his meal

His pigtail is standing, and he looks a monkey.

My *Jeth* came from the fields.

He has an axe on his shoulders; and he looks a shephard

My *Jethani* comes from the tank;

She has tucked up her *Sadi* at the back and she looks.

Dhedi.

My *Deyar* came from the school;

He has his satchel hanging from his shoulders and he looks a barber.

My *Nanand* came from her *Sasra* :

Her hair are loose and she looks a witch.

(9)

The floods of Bhaderva are rising
Bhadervo is raging loud
Who is it that is being carried away in the floods ?
Bhadarvo is raging loud
In them, Ranchhodio is being carried away,
Bhadervo is raging loud.
Who becomes sorry on this ?
Maniben becomes sorry on this
Bhadervo is raging loud.

(10)

The crane comes and the crane goes
It loafs here and there
Whom does the crane carry away ?
It carries away Pashpa Vahu ;
And Mangubhai runs after it.
My cots are getting unused.
My ornaments are rushing away;
My cardamons are getting spoilt;
My betels are rotting;
My money is being wasted.
The crane comes and the crane goes.

(11)

I want *ar*; I was *sar*;
A *sadi* from your *sasra*
A wife by a second marriage,
A bread as big as a mill stone,
A papad as large as a plate,
Are wanted.
Look, O Desai, how we dance !

(12)

A slender stick to play the *dolaniyan*:
How fine is the dance ?

The pipal tree has got new leaves:
 How fine is the dance?
 The *Khakhra* tree has borne *Khajans* on it;
 How fine is the dance?
 My brother beat my *bhabhi*;
 How fine is the dance?

(13)

We are dancing the *fudardi*,
 Moving round and round
 And playing with a babool doll.
 Babool is *avario*,
Dhamdachhani madi,
 My *Sasra* married a squint-eyed girl,
 She wanders in the fields
 And collects *chola* beans
 The *chola* plant was cut down
 The *Jamai's* eyes were hurt.

(14)

Which village has a large number of *Jamais*, O bee?
 Hansapur has a number of them, O bee!
 Which of them is the dearest, O bee?
 Ranchhodio is the dearest of all, O bee!
 Seven asses were grazing, O bee,
 One of them delivered, O bee,
 Ranchhodio began to milch it, O bee;
 The ass gave him a kick, O bee;
 He was thrown on the ground, O bee;
 Then came Maniben, dear, O bee.

(15)

There are beans in my yard;
 Who collects them?
 I collect the beans.
 My *sasra* is a *Patel*, *Sasu* a *Patalen*,
 Who collects the beans?

My *Jeth* is a *Vakil*, *jethani* a *Vaklan*
 Who collects the beans ?
 My *Diwar* is a teacher, *Deyrani* a mistress;
 Who collects the beans ?

IV.

Here the first five songs are "Jack & Jill" rhymes sung by the children at play. The last ten are *garbas* sung in *Navratra*, the first nine days of the month of *Aso* of the Hindu Calendar. They are a sort of dance-songs, and are a well known feature of Gujarati art.

I.

Clap your hands, kiddies
 Mama brought you a cocoanut;
 The cocoanut is rotten
 It was given to *Mami* to eat
Mami said, she would jump into the well.
 Mama says "Gladly will I show you the way".
 It will take some time,
 And let pearls be brought.
Mami, let's go to fetch water
 We will look round the *Bania's* house on the way
 The *Bania* gave a note;
 My *mami* is very sweet
 Let her be sweet,
 She must bring a pot of water.
 The pot was placed on the door.
 A scorpion went up in her hair
 There's also a serpent there
 That of course is our *Mami's* father.

(2)

Dhammak Ladu
 A ser of *Khaudu*
 Let me cook some leafy vegetables.
Chyand Myand
Chyand Myand.

Children catch each other's ears and repeat these lines, each time rhythmically lolling on each side.

(3)

Children keep their hands on one another's & then go on repeating.

An pan

A doll gave a feast to the marriage party

The party remained hungry

And go up with plates in their hands;

We filled cocoanuts in those plates

How are your children brother ?

They are well and happy

And there steps are silken

Raja Bhoja

Tara Toja

We are free from all work

Let us jump, ho !

(4)

Aling dalling

Tilla tol

On a stool sat the *Dhal Dhadvka*.

Ukka dhukka

Karia Kathi

You are broken and therefore free !

(5)

O ! You stand without a support

Kiddy, your ahklet jingles sweet,

Our Mama gave you *Khichdi* to eat

That was not cooked well.

Your *Mami* danced

Let her dance:

(6)

Raja Janak's bow has to be strung :

My father's condition is very hard;
It cannot be strung: I am still unmarried.

Letters were sent to all countries
The greatest of kings were invited
But the bow could not be strung.

From Lanka came Rawan

He had ten heads and twenty hands !

But the bow could not be strung.

From north and south came two boys
Who were housed in the flower garden
But the bow could not be strung.

One of the two strung it and broke it in three

It was all his victory

The bow was now strung

Janki garlanded him in the court

As the bow was broken,

She is now no more a *Kumari*.

(7)

The Pandawas sat down to play the dice,

Shakuni entered the court room.

They forgot what they had learnt;

Thus they played and lost everything.

In the first game, they lost their books & villages

In the second, they have no place to live

In the third, they lost the whole earth

In the fourth, the wife, Draupadi was gone.

Then came Dushasan running

He began to remove Draupadi's upper garment

O, in which birth must I have committed sin ?

That I am thus treated, wept she.

" I married five husbands

When others get only one"

Anybody who sings this song of the Pandavas

Shall get Vaikunta.

(8)

O Rama Patel,

The Moghals came and surrounded the fort.
 The king dug a tank but there was no water!
 The Moghals' tank was filled with milk!
 That is the prowess of mother Kalika-

(11)

Mother Batucara is very powerful
 Let us go and offer her prayers.
 We will see her and become happy
 We will stay in Arasur and tell her our miseries.
 In Arasur lives Ambaja and in Pawagarh, Mahakali.
 In the south is Tulaja and in Chunwal is Bahuchariji
 To the mother incenses are burnt, *chir* and red blouse
sacrificed.
 The Brahmins recite the Vedas near her.
 And women sing auspicious songs,
 Whoever goes to the mother gets her wishes fulfilled
 Let us go and offer her prayers.

(12)

On the first of the month, O slender Girdhari, come to
my house
 On the second a child sat outside and I got it round
 On the third, O friend, let us invite the lord of the
three worlds with pearls,
 On the fourth, a sweet woman was seen gossiping on the
road to Mathura.
 On the fifth, come sweetly to my home.
 On the sixth, O dear God, save us your *bhaktas*
 On the seventh, a woman of Gokul calls you.
 On the eighth, God was born and I like him.
 On the ninth, a Gokul girl is observing a Vrat.
 On the tenth, *mama* Kans was killed in Mathura.
 On the eleventh, he married the beautiful Satyabhama.
 On the twelfth, the mighty god covered the whole universe.

The young *diyar*, was a loveable chap,
 he brought the *Mehendi* plant.
 He crushed it and with the colour filled some dishes
 And to the *Bhabhi* said "colour your hands, *bhabhi*"
 "What's the use colouring my hands? The one to see
 it is away.
 "A lakh rupees cash if somebody goes to him overseas
 "And let him be beloved lord of my cowife:
 Your sister marries, so soon come home".
 "Let her marry and let the bride-groom's party stay
 with us for many days".
 Then tell him,, the lord of my cowife" Come soon,
 your brother gets married".
 "O let him get married, but go as many persons as
 you can in his *jan*".
 Tell that beloved of my cowife that his mother breathes
 her last.
 "Let my mother die! Burn her under the bet-tree, you all".
 Then tell him who is my beloved that his dear one's
 eyes are sore !
 "Soon friends, soon comrades ! Get ready and let us go"

THE PATTERN OF A POLYANDROUS SOCIETY WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO TRIBAL CRIME

ANIMA MUKHERJI

Jaunsar Bawar is one of the most important Parganas of Chakrata Tehsil in the Dehra Dun district of the Meerut Division in the Uttar Pradesh.

This area is noted for its rugged beauty. Precipitous mountains and deep dark ravines with few patches of flat land interspersed here and there, form the natural landscape. Flat ground is extremely rare except in the Valley; Cultivation is laborious as well as precarious. Rivers and rivulets traverse the hill-sides but they usually run dry in the summer, and with the approach of the rainy season they assume huge dimension's foaming and gushing forward, enabling the timber from higher altitudes to float down to lower regions.

Every perennial water channel offers the site for location of a village provided the adjoining hill-sides can be terraced for agricultural purposes. Of course, the cluster of houses must be well protected from the blasts of chilly winds in winter and pathways must give them access to the adjoining villages beyond the chasms and gorges.

Jaunsar is not too poor in flora and fauna. The higher regions are thickly forested with trees of various species. But the declivity of the slopes being too steep, such places are not usually inhabited and the people cannot take full advantage of nature's bounty.

Villages are usually found in the valleys, on the hill slopes where the gradient is not too steep. The forest offers the timber for their attractively designed substantial houses. Of late the *Deodar* forests have been closed down by the administration and less durable *Chir* is available so that expensive stone houses can be seen cropping up here and there.

Close by the houses lie the picturesque terraced patches. The rocks are usually made up of limestone, hence terracing on the slopes becomes a real job for these sturdy people. Further, water must be brought to the fields through skilfully constructed *Kuls* and *Patnalis*.

Men and women, boys and girls all must work incessantly to fight nature's niggardliness. They toil hard from morning till evening to eke out a subsistence of a sort and the leisure hours they pass off gaily drinking and smoking. The inhabitants are on the whole gay, frank and credulous people. Talkative and hospitable, they make friends easily. The men wear scanty dress, the women don a heavy attire and particularly love to adorn themselves with varieties of ornaments.

Ethnically they form several distinct groups.¹ The members of higher groups, Rajputs and Brahmins are usually "tall, handsome, fair complexioned, possess a long head, vertical forehead, leptorrhine nose, hazel eyes with sprinkling of blue, curly hair and other features well cut and proportioned". Then there are the dark aboriginal Doms known as Koltas and the arisan castes. These belong perhaps as Dr. D. N. Majumdar opines, to an Australoid stock. The former are the masters, the latter their serfs. "The Mongolian element has entered from the North and the North East and has influenced their physiognomy in no uncertain way." This much about the physical features and the nature of the people and their environment, and now let us look at their social structure.

Their social structure is patternized into an hierarchical organisation. The upper classes, the Zemindars and the artisans, hold the land whereas the lower groups particularly the Koltas till recently could not become land owners according to the local code. They are virtually slaves, live close by their master's houses and usually work in lieu of food and drink. They are given plots of land, worst patches, work upon them with the cattle provided by their masters and in return part with the major portion of the produce during the harvest time. Their marriage and other expenses are borne by their masters and in consequence the Kolta's debt goes on mounting and his progeny becomes the mortgaged slaves of the master. Disabilities of dress, food and drink, darken his days. This feudalistic type of land settlement has received some sort of religious sanction and they have become resigned to their fate. Only of late a slight stir is visible among these folks.

1. See Majumdar, D. N. *The Racial Composition of the Polyandrous People of Jaunsar Bawar*, *Jou. U. P. Hist. Soc.* Vol. XIII, Pt 2, 1940. pp 35-50.

The territorial unit to-day is the village. It is believed that the Khasas immigrated to this land in groups, each under a headman or *Thokdar*. Villages being of limited size, they scattered themselves in two or three or even more number of villages, constituting a *Khat* or *Patti*. The *Thokdar* became the *Sadar Sayana*. He enjoyed certain privileges and prerogatives; he could demand free services from villagers, he was entitled to special presents during birth and marriage in the families residing within his *Khat*. On the other hand upon him lay the responsibility of defending and safeguarding the welfare of the *Khat*. Gradually the village *Sayana*, the headman, assumed more and more powers and to-day he wields supreme influence over the social life of his people. With the help of the village *panchayat*, he penalizes the social derelict thereby suppressing individuality and personality development. The people are generally of the Apollonian type, committed to precedent and tradition and have learnt to dread the growth of individualism which is disruptive. This tendency is further strengthened through the operation of a strong *Sayana* system, a relic of feudalism. With the help of the *panchayat* he imposes fines and wergeld for adultery and orders restitution in case of thefts, as well as tackles cases of witch-craft thereby enhancing the social solidarity, and ensuring material cooperation, which is so very indispensable among these folk wresting a livelihood from such an unfavourable surrounding. There is no doubt that this deep attachment and subservience to the headman has immense influence in bridling violent outbursts among these ancient people.

The priest and the diviner both are held in high esteem in this society; their religion is a synthesis of tribal beliefs and Hindu rites. Magic and religion have been coalesced in their daily practices. Oaths and ordeals as well as magical rites hold in check many covert and semi-criminal activities.

In their hierarchy of Gods, *Mahashu* holds the topmost place. The people have implicit faith in his omnipotence. Often, when evidence is lacking in a court case, the parties proceed to his temple and swear to the righteousness of their cause, any misfortune that befalls afterwards is attributed to the wrath of the God against the perjurer. It is usual for a man to come to the temple and confess audibly his wrong deeds, thus hoping to redeem his sin. Such is the

depth of their faith. Perhaps this dread of divine vengeance suppresses the overt expression of sinister desires among these credulous folk.

Anti-social women, witches, can invoke the devil gods and bring disaster and disease to others. The diviner can ward off the evil influence of their black arts with counter sacrifices.

They are a patronymic patrilineal, patrilocal people. Dr. Majumdar traces in the Khasa social structure an evidence of a submerged matriarchy.¹ Their law of inheritance and the double standard of morality have been ascribed to cultural miscegenation. The daughters of the village, the *dhyantis*, enjoy inordinate sexual freedom and this can be regarded as the remnant of matriarchy where as the wives, the *rantis* are subjected to marital stringency which reminds us of the despotic influence of patriarchy.

The eldest son enjoys certain extra prerogatives regarding inheritance of property and intra-familial relationships. Usually a family consists of a group of brothers and one or more wives jointly shared by them. It is surprising to note that despite polyandry, the society assumes a highly disparaging attitude towards women. There the wives are quite unlike their Tibetan sisters who, "with their pipes in their mouths, magnificent in their confident strides are usually followed by three to five husbands who trot behind them like slaves".

Polyandry and polygyny, monandry and group marriage are all prevalent among these hill people, although the first mentioned type is the traditional & the most common form of conjugal alliance even today.

Various theories have been put forward to explain the origin of polyandry. Sex-disparity may encourage, if not initiate, this form of marriage. In two of the villages investigated, this proportion of males to female was 3:2 and 7:4 respectively. But how far polyandry is the outcome of sex-disparity and how far it results in a disbalanced demography is a moot problem. There is, however, no absolute co-relation between excess of males and polyandry.

Same with economic considerations. No doubt the desire to maintain the family property undivided and the necessity of wresting

¹ See, *Fortunes of Primitive Tribes* (Luck. 1944),

a livelihood from a favourable environment through cooperation, as well as the difficulties of maintaining separate families may stylize the marriage in this particular form. But can economic conditions shape the marriage form by itself?

Nevertheless biological factors coupled with extremely hard economic conditions have helped to maintain polyandrous unions in this region. Of course isolation is also a potent conditioning factor.

"At the same time, the low birth rate and the intense desire for male children explain the existence of polygyny among them. In fact, with the break down of barriers, with the steady impact of Brahminical ideas, some people are developing a dislike for polyandry. As economic conditions allow, as is the case with most of the *Sayanas*, they prefer polygyny to polyandry. The well-to-do and the progressive among them are sending their sons down to the plains for education; this is accelerating the decline of polyandry among these people as well as the rising tendency towards monogamy among some of them."

It is rather paradoxical that despite the relative scarcity of females, hardly any premium is put on the female child. As already stated they occupy a low status. Right from an early age they are burdened with minor domestic duties. It is a common sight to see a girl of seven or eight taking care of her infant sibling. Too many restrictions and a few permissive attitudes are the striking features of the discipline technique adopted by their parents or rather fathers. This has perhaps, some influence on their ego development and teaches them to adhere to the traditional social pattern.

Their low status may be due to the fact that they take up anti-social attitudes when they fail to produce children. Apart from any deeper psychological factors that may be involved, children are a dire necessity in their subsistence economy for they provide the insurance against privations and hardships of old age. Hence of the many motives underlying marriage in the simpler societies, none is so strong as the desire for children. Therefore a barren woman has no status in the family, and there is every possibility that she will be divorced. She is regarded as a cursed person. A deep sense of frustration com-

bined with public contempt and pity eventually drives her to anti-social deeds. The village people ascribe the miseries and woes of the village to her. Many an innocent girl is rejected by the husband only because her mother is supposed to be a "Dakin". Man Singh of village Laddi divorced his first wife because her mother had such a notoriety. In other cases mothers and wives are deserted by sons and husbands. Perhaps because she is imagined to be the source of so much trouble, she is held in such a low esteem.

In this connection we should note the use of the word *malik*. The *chhut* rules allow divorce to men and women alike. But in reality it is well nigh impossible for a woman to seek divorce. When she wants divorce she must pay a fixed sum of money, as demanded by her husband's people. As such she must find out a person who is willing to bear this divorce-compensation. He pays the compensation and becomes the new '*malik*' or lord of that woman in literal sense of the word. She is but an economic pawn in the hands, at first, of her father and then her husbands. Theoretically she can choose any man, she can divorce husbands any time she likes, but in reality she must give herself up legally to that person who can afford to pay the bride-price or bear compensation for divorce. No wonder she is relegated to such a debased status. She does all the work at home, she even shares her husbands' works on the fields, but in return enjoys scanty powers amounting to a few domestic prerogatives. In most cases she is only a domestic or marital slave.

Their culture pattern gives very little scope for anti-social activities and we witnessed a relative dearth of aggressive outbursts or even violent verbal quarrels. The simplicity of their culture pattern has entailed a homogeneity in their scheme of values. This thwarts the development of individuality and acts as an insulator of social cohesion against anti-social aberrations.

The most striking crimes are those associated with witchcraft. As already stated these people are steeped in superstitions and every disease or disaster can be pinned on an anti-social woman. Usually the victim seeks redress through the diviner's assistance. But at other times they take the law in their own hands, and torment and tyrannize or even murder ruthlessly the victim of their suspicion.

Often an unaccounted for murder can be traced back to the dread of witchcraft. Recently a woman was found lying in a ditch in a nearby village of Chakrata *Tehsil* and the suspicion was that she had been deliberately murdered for the people believed that her practice of the black-art has brought disease and death in many of the village families.

Desertion is one of the most common consequences of such suspicion. Jurgi, wife Amri of Junrai had to file a case against her husband for the restitution of her marital rights. On the other hand Kachlu Kolta of Majhgaon could not bring his wife Jhinni to his house for five years, for Jhingotia, the girl's father, had suspicion of his mother's traffic in the black-art. His (Katchlu's) repeated requests failed to move his father-in-law, and at last he had to go to the court.

At other times the suspicion is so strong that even the sons do not hesitate to ill-treat their aged mother on the suspicion of her being a *dakin*. Two or three persons died in the family of Bir Singh of Balatha village. He became suspicious of Rai Bali, somehow won the cooperation of the whole village and compelled Rai-Bali's sons to turn her out of the house. She took shelter in her brother's house and from there pleaded innocence and begged of her village people to permit her to go back to her sons, house; all her efforts failed to bring redress and lastly she decided to seek the help of the court.

Minor troubles over witchcraft are matters of common occurrence. But their culture pattern offers an outlet for the dread of witches and the hatred subside after a shortwhile, and in most of the cases referred to the *Tehsil*, compromise is achieved outside the court.

It seems possible that the prevailing customs of polyandry and polygyny may stimulate jealousy and consequent aggressive tendencies among these people. But as we probe deeper into their culture-pattern, we realize that their routinized customs have eliminated or at least held in check the possibilities of overt expression of material jealousies and consequent breach in social cohesion.

The usual marital customs allow the eldest brother to marry a girl or girls and the younger ones have access to her or them as the case may be. But under all circumstances he enjoys special marital prerogatives. There is every possibility that this will stir jealousy and

other associated impulses in their hearts and make the home resonant with bitter words. Or perhaps the wife may show particular liking for one of the brothers with similar consequences. For instance, Jaywanti, the fourth wife of Mansingh and his brothers have more liking for Shobal Singh, but under the pressure of social customs, she must serve and oblige Mansingh. But she does get opportunity to show her preference and she can tactfully avoid others on some pretext or other. But she won't like the separation of the brothers, for that will entail economic hardships for the whole family and perhaps partial starvation will snatch away her little ones from her. A sure knowledge of the disruptive influence of jealousy on the whole family, and consequently on society, obviate its overt manifestations to a great extent. But when feelings become too bitter and the scheme of collaboration fails, then they take recourse to separation. Under such a condition the wife remains with the eldest brother, the other brothers are helped financially by the former in their efforts to secure wives, at times the existing wives are appropriated by the brothers in order of their seniority through mutual agreements.

When there is a single wife, access to her is not indiscriminate and is usually settled by precise social customs and mutual arrangements. Hardships of economic life, and the virtual necessity of winning others' cooperation, teach them to focus their attentions on others, and as such control their own impulses; again owing to the existence of *cisibeiism* and the possibilities of extra-marital sexual relations, sexual jealousy does not usually flare up to the peak points of aggression. Among these people, as among the Marquisians studied by Kardiner, "sexual aim is not repressed". "This factor would tend to an attitude in the man permitting sexual gratification with the same object without fall in self-esteem." This factor may lower the opportunity for the growth of association between the tender and the sexual relation, hence may keep jealousy in check.

All the same defiances are not rare, and often the wife shows preference for one of the younger brothers. The eldest one may enforce separation and if she has got intense dislike for him then she seeks escape through divorce, if circumstances permit, otherwise she bears her lot in silence.

Again one of the brothers may try to win the love of the wife by giving her special presents but the other brothers do not try to check him, "for then he will divert his attentions to one of the village 'dha-yantis' and that will mean a financial loss to the family" remarked Jayanti. 'But', she continued "if any of the brothers claims any one of the children as his own, and if the wife supports his claim, then certainly a row will flare up in the family". But all the brothers are well aware of the eldest brother's social prerogatives to impose separation, hence such indiscretion is extremely rare.

Among the co-wives too, the possibility of violent outbursts is eliminated by the specific working of the security system. Speaking of the Marquisians, we know of some people, that men suppress jealousy because their cooperation is indispensable in the economic sphere. But their women take to covert jealousy as its suppression is not imperative for they are kept out of all economic activities. But in Jaunsar, women share their husbands' works on the fields, their services are more or less indispensable, as such their behaviour pattern cannot permit open manifestations of jealousy.

Again they do feel unhappy when the husbands show preference to another woman, but then the new-comer relieves them of the drudgery to a considerable extent, and their limited prerogatives, as the senior wives, are protected through the intervention of society. At times when the junior wife becomes the proud mother of a son, the senior wife, particularly if she is sonless, may become acrimonious, may even try to use magic to harm her or her child. But such cases are rare for as soon as she is detected, she will be divorced and payment of the compensation is rather difficult. Or perhaps she will be turned out of the house, and will have to bear life-long obloquy. At times when the senior wife, feels jealous of the junior one, she works with extra zeal and fervour so as to recapture the admiration and recognition of the husband. Instead of fretting and fuming, she strives hard to retain and monopolize certain duties, duties which are considered in the light of privileges. She mothers all the children, and even pretends to mother the junior co-wives. The structure of social prestige built round these privileges may be compensatory in function.

Crimes of passion and jealousy are usually held in check in family life, but often they tarnish the social fabric.

Dhamo of village Jhusood became rather intimate with Choto, a village *ranti*. Nayan Singh, Choto's husband, decided to avenge himself on Dhamo. One day he met Taro, Dhamo's wife on the field and persuaded her to yield to him. Perchance, Dhamo appeared on the spot, he felt outraged and poured out his wrath in a flood of vituperations. Nayan Singh told him that since he had been carrying on with his wife, he too was justified on being intimate with Dhamo's wife, Dhamo would not listen to him, neither was he willing to place the case before the village *panchayat*, for he was apprehensive of the punishment that would be meted out to him for his share of the crime. Blind with fury he (Dhamo) cut off a lock of her hair, the worst possible insult for a woman in this area. She, unable to bear the insult sent it to her father Chait Singh through a Kolta. He took her away to his village and later on filed a case for the recovery of her conjugal rights.

All these details were collected from the village people, the court only records such cases as those of ill-treatment and desertion. For usually they try to disguise the real nature of the crime, as such aberrations are intensely despised and dreaded by these people.

Thus we see that their social structure is so ordered, their culture pattern is so weaved that the possibilities of overt jealousy and consequent violence must be circumscribed. This does not indicate the absence of envy and jealousy, as has been often mentioned by earlier writers, it merely indicates that the social pattern diminishes the scope of their exercise. Provocations are few, rewards of impulse control are worth attaining. Social sanctions can be easily imposed, as conformity is indispensable, for the very existence of the society hinges on the organized cooperation of its members. Hence not only jealousy in family life but mutual aggression as a whole is less marked among these people. Jealousy appears not infrequently when they get drunk during festivals. But as soon as they sober up they feel ashamed of their pitfalls and try to make up through apologies. They prefer to abide by the traditional pattern rather than incur social opprobrium and censure.

BRATAS IN BENGAL

(*A Cult of Beauty*)

CHARULAL MUKHERJEE

Amongst the plethora of customs observed by the Hindus of Bengal, *Bratas* engage our attention as the most peculiar feature of the religious practices (using it in the widest sense) of women-folk. Although the ill-starred widows are not debarred from the observance of a few of them, most of the observants of these folk-rituals are either maidens or married women.

The dictionary meaning of *Brata* is "an act of religious devotion voluntarily undertaken." *Brati* is one "engaged in observing vows" and we are reminded how Tagore named his boy-scouts of Santiniketan as "Brati-Balak". To be more precise according to Sanskrit root meanings, it is an action that leads to merit and on practising it, one's sin wanes on purgation. The Prakritibad dictionary in Bengali, cites the example of *Chandrayana Brata* under this category, but we should remember here that it is a religious ritual of penance done with the help of priests.

In undertaking these *Bratas*, it is however, essential that the vow of observing them should be taken, but whether or not all of them can be considered as strictly religious practices, if by "religion" we mean "a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and human life";¹ it presents a fascinating problem to the ethnologist called upon to disentangle skeins of magic, whether considered as *magic* or *magic maleficia* (good or bad), the double expression often applied by Apuleius², and religion, the higher rung of the magic-ladder.

At this stage we want to present before the readers an account of two such *Bratas* specifically aiming at the attainment of the body beautiful, before we analyse their constituent elements in the light of

1. Sir J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (Abridged edition), P. 50.

2. L. Thorndyke, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, (New York, 1929), Vol. II

science. These are termed "Nakhchuter Brata" and "Ruphaluder Brata" and may be translated as the vow of "nail-paring" and the vow of "turmeric charm".

NAKHCHUTER BRATA

Let us now examine the first, viz. the vow of nail-paring in some details. This vow, according to custom, is taken on the fourth day of the full-moon of *Chaitra*. In some localities, the completion of the vow requires four years, while in others, the entire ritual is finished in one year. To our knowledge, this *Brata* is now prevalent in Krishnagar, Nabadwip and Hooghly in Western Bengal, and enquiries revealed that some steps are skipped over here and there to suit special conditions, but the general features all agree.

The most essential requisite of the *Brata* is a female barber. The *Brati* woman must observe the taboos of not paring her nails from the last day of Magh to Falgun. And as *Chaitra* is ushered in, she is customarily prohibited from massaging her body with oil, till the ceremonials are concluded. When the day arrives, a piece of napkin (*gamcha*), five pieces of turmeric, five shells of cowrie, five betel-leaves, five betel-nuts, five *batashas* (fried cake of treacle), some honey, the vegetable *parawal*, locks of jute-fibres dyed in black are kept in readiness by the votary. Next she invites a married woman on the fourth day of the full-moon of *Chaitra*, gets her nails pared by the barber woman and the edges of her feet painted by means of the red pigment, *alta*, after rubbing them well with a piece of porous brick. The devotee herself combs the hair of the invited female guest and daubs her forehead with vermillion. Then she keeps the five pieces of turmeric, cowrie-shells, betel-leaf, betel-nut and a *batasha*, (fried treacle-cake) in the new napkin. It is now customary for the *Brati* to rub the back of her guest till such time as she gathers dirt sufficient to make a doll-like puppet with the greasy material, and it is forthwith shaped into form. Next the nails of the woman under the vow are pared, a few ends of her hair are cut and kept tied in the napkin. When this process is gone through, the woman-guest is made to wear a sari with a red-border and seated on a wooden seat on the floor. A puppet is now sketched on her back with honey and touching the *parawal* on to the eyes of the pictorial representation, the *Brati* chants as follow:—

"Let my eyes look like *paraival* cut into halves".

Next the feet of the guest is dipped in milk mixed with *alta* (red pigment) while she prays:

"Let my complexion be like *alta* mixed in milk."

A well-shaped banana is now taken out and the fingers of the invited lady are measured with it, while the *Brati* utters the wish:

"Let my fingers be shapely like bananas."

Then the locks of jute dyed in black are placed over the hair of the guest as the wish is recited:

"Let my hair be long like these jute-fibres and thick and dark and curly like black glossy silk."

The chantings and prayers over, all these articles are tied into a corner of napkin. It should be noted in passing that the foregoing rites are observed for four years consecutively.

Now it is time for the woman-guest to be ceremonially treated to a meal. Custom requires that in the first year she should be fed with fried grams and sweetened fried-paddy. In the second year, she is given curd and fried-paddy, flattened rice and sweetened fried-paddy in the third, while the last term entertains her to a feast of *loochi* (fried wafers in charified butter), fish and vegetable curry together with a sumptuous dish of sweets and fruits. As she dines, a lamp preferably of *ghee* or oil is lit and after dinner she is presented with iron-bangles, ¹ lac-bracelets, *alta*, casket of vermillion, a napkin, hair-oil recipes, a mirror, a comb, a fan and a rupee. Now it is time for the *Brati* to carry the lamp lighted on her head to a tank where it is ceremonially immersed along with the nail-parings.

The fourth year brings the folk-ritual to the climax of completion. Four married women are invited and seated face to face. Their nails are pared by a barber woman and bodies rubbed with oil and bathed. Next their feet are painted with *alta*, they are made to wear red bordered saris and seated on wooden seats facing the south, north, east and west. Then as on previous years, the dirt on their backs are again

1. Undoubtedly worn to chase away evil-spirits that do harm to married women. Iron is widely used in Bengal to exercise ghosts.

shaped like dolls and the wishes are chanted as already recorded, and the guests are entertained. The same presents follow and the burning lamp is dipped in water by the *Brati* as she plunges in a tank or river along with the nail-parings.

RUP-HALUD BRATA

The object of the *Brata* is to gain beauty. Like the previous, this is also observed by maidens and married women for four years. It starts on the last day of the Bengali year with the ceremonial anointing of a married woman with pasted turmeric and other ceremonies and continues for the whole of Baisakh. On the last day of Baisakh of the fourth year, four married women are dressed in appropriate robes, given toilet and other presents like the one we have seen treated, gets better things as a red-bordered cloth dyed yellow in turmeric, a silver vermillion casket, a mirror, a comb, a fan and a rupee.

The scope of our enquiry is too limited to allow us to trace the origin of these customs, but we should remember that as long as our desires do not end in death, the animal-world engages itself in a worldwide *Brata*-like ritual. Human desires on earth and their mimetic representation in appropriate ceremonials have been here cast into a commonsense mould and we may usefully quote here the observations of F. C. Bartlett in his *Psychology and Primitive Culture*, throwing light on the point: "We study the features of the ceremonial, and it seems to us that the practice must spring from, or at least be accompanied by, certain beliefs. Now if we picture some individual, setting him, for the time being, entirely outside his social group, some striking occurrence in his life leads him to associate an animal let us say with the birth of a child, or with the securing of food. By the inevitable laws of association, acting upon him just as they might conceivably act on any other individual in any other natural environment, he connects the animal with the child or food, and may come to regard the first as the cause of the second. More than this he persuades others of the connexion. The spreading belief, also by a common psychological process, finds dramatic expression in a form of ritual."

Now a few notes on the magical significance of the requisites of the *Brata* and the attending ceremonials may not be out of place.

The observance of the taboo of not paring the nails and cessation from the use of oil possibly serves the purpose of conservation. In the analogous practices referred to in anthropological literature we read how while the Sea Dayaks of Banting in Sarawak were out fighting, the women might not oil their hair lest misfortune might befall them. The Kai of Northern New Guinea carefully secrete nail-parings, and teeth in the belief that should these fall into the hands of enemies, they might be used to harm the owners by a process of contagious magic. Similarly the Tumbuka of Nysaland lay them in ant-holes just as these nail-parings were immersed in water by the *Brati*, beyond the reach of possible harm. As regards the puppet representation practised in the ritual it is indeed a specimen of white magic. But it would not be at all irrelevant to refer to a parallel, although in the realm of black magic. Thus we see how a Malay charm requires the "nails, hair, eye-brows, spittle and so forth of your intended victim enough to represent every part of his person, and then make them into his likeness with wax from a deserted bees' comb and scorch the figure by holding it over a lamp every night for seven nights and say ;

It is not wax that I am scorching
It is the liver, heart and spleen of
so-and so that I scorch." 2

The Indian custom of burning the effigy of an enemy called "Kushaputtal" may also be cited here.

The point that almost all the ceremonial requisites number *five* can be studied in the context that *five* in Hindu ritual is a mystic number with a good significance. Gods are offered "Pancha Naibedya" (five offerings), the feeding of five Brahmins in a feast is at least second best. The five deities are offered food before the Brahmin takes his meal and five we hear is extolled in the essay on "The Ei at Delphi."

The other requisites namely vermillion, *alta*, red-bordered sari have occult virtues associated with the very colour. Added to this, the use of honey in drawing the puppet on the guest's back can only

1. Sir J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, p. 49.

2. L. Thorndyke, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, p. 212.

aim at producing a sweet result. Honey or sugar-candy, we remember, is put into the mouth of new-born babies so that they may have sweet speech and a new bride in Bengal is applied honey in her ear and given a *sandesh* in her mouth with the expressed wish that whatever she may hear may sound sweet and anything she may speak may be of sugary significance. And last but not the least, the burning lamp on the head of the *Brati* reminds one forcibly of the perpetually burning lamp in the little shrine at Nemi for the safety of the Emperor Claudius and his family and the worship of a perpetual fire, cared for by the holy maidens at Latium and the Catholic practice of dedicating holy candles at churches may also be cited in this context ¹

An analysis of the rituals described leads to irresistible conclusion that their object is attainment of the body beautiful. This cult of beauty worship leads from an instinctive biological urge of women to look beautiful in the appropriate season of life in tune with the plant and animal kingdom. To fulfill this aim, the ceremonials that are gone through are really magical processes intended to compel the unseen powers to grant to the *Brati* her wish. On the principle of *similia similibus* (like producing like), which goes by Frazer's phrase of homeopathic magic, the various aspects of female beauty in the eye, face, fingers, and hair are conjured by the law of Similarity into the beauty of the half-cut *parawal*, face like a betel leaf, fingers shaped like bananas and hair like dark jute-fibres. And by puppet representations, they are actually made to come in the physical contact of married women, thought to be repositories of good luck in coverture, prized by women in general. The feeding of married women-guests and presenting them with customary articles of toilet are only intended to be charms to conjure unseen forces to transmit their luck to the devotee by the Law of Association and "silent sympathy" that moulds Lucy's form to beauty in Wordsworth.

Religion presupposes pleasing super-human deities by prayers and sacrifices and implies a pliable natural law, and magic, the lower step, implies coercion of unseen spirits in an inflexible order of the universe. Not that in the wishes chanted, there are not elements of prayer. But

1. Sir J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (Abridged edition, 1933) p. 3.

it is certain that it does not lie underlined, although there are many *Bratas* attended by them. All that we can understand from them is that it may be the relic of a state of society when the function of the priest and the sorcerer whether individual or public, was not clearly differentiated. "To serve his purpose man wooed the will of gods or spirits by prayer and sacrifices while at the same time he had recourse to ceremonies and forms of words which he hoped would of themselves bring about the desired result without the help of god or devil. In short he practised religious and magical rites simultaneously".¹

That the *Bratas* as described show a non-Aryan origin is perhaps undisputed. They reveal a fusion of cultures between Aryan culture and the practices of the "Anyabratas" as the pre-Aryans were called. But these call for voluminous evidence. All that we find here goes to show that in the state of human mind and thought represented in the *Bratas*, the women simply desire to arrest the superhuman deity by rites and chants on the unconscious logic of magic which is however diluted with and reinforced by faint elements of religion.

1. Sir J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough* (Abridged Edition 1933), p. 52.

INTER—TRIBAL RELATIONS, A STUDY

S. C. Dube

In the wide and extensive regions of tribal Middle India and the Deccan where a number of tribes at different levels of culture co-exist in a common habitat, varying patterns of inter-tribal relationships are noticeable. To the student of social adjustment and culture-change the mutual relations of the tribes themselves on the one hand and their relations with the neighbouring castes and sects on the other, provide very interesting material for study. In this paper I propose to analyse the nature and problems of inter-tribal relations from three culture-areas: the Gond-Kamar-Bhunja area of Chhattisgarh, the Gond-Kolam area of Adilabad and the Koya—Hill Reddy area of Warangal.

I

In the Gond-Kamar-Bhunja area of the Bindranawagarh Zemindari in Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, the Gonds constitute the landed peasantry and live in common villages inter-mixed with the other Hindu castes. Although they have retained their tribal organization, beliefs and ritual, their economic position as well-to-do cultivators and their socio-political influence as members of the ruling race—the Zemindars of Bindranawagarh being Amat Gonds, has naturally brought them the leadership of the village community. Thus, the Gonds today associate themselves more with the Hindu castes and seek to differentiate themselves from simple folks like the Kamars and Bhunjias who are economically poor and backward. Yet they generally concede that they too are a tribal element in the population and that they had close associations with the other tribes in the legendary and the not-too-distant past. The Kamars stand on the other extreme. They have maintained their semi-isolation, and still possessing a remarkable *tribal feeling*; they have successfully resisted alien influences in several phases of their culture. Although a part of the tribe has come to the plains, a great majority is still in the hills and forests and nearly nowhere do they like to live in common settlements with other tribes and castes. An exception to this general rule may be

made in remote villages, where being in overwhelming majority they may permit one or two outside families to settle down in the vicinity of their villages. Their virtually self-sufficient economy of the past is breaking down at several points, but it still retains some of its remarkable distinctiveness. Standing mid-way between the Gonds and the Kamars, the Bhunjias have in some spheres gone a long way in adopting alien modes and patterns, but in other respects have zealously maintained their old-time conservativeness. Among them the Gonds are numerically a large and dominant community; the total Kamar and Bhunjia population being just a fraction of their total strength. Of all the three tribal groups the over-all influence of Hindu beliefs and social patterns is present in varying degrees, but they still have in their cultures certain distinctive elements which may mark them out from one another. As they live in close symbiosis, they have naturally been forced to work out their patterns of mutual adjustment.

Comparatively speaking the social status of the Gonds is regarded as higher than that of the other two tribes. However, the Kamars and Bhunjias, being more autochthonous, have considerable feeling of tribal superiority. Being numerically small and economically weak they cannot effectively assert it. On the contrary, the economically better off and socially influential Gonds invariably describe themselves as Gond Thakurs. Thakur may mean both a master and a Kshatriya, and by implication the Gonds claim both these status. In their turn, the Kamars and the Bhunjias look forward to the Gonds as their social ideal. In fact the endogamous Chinda division of the Bhunjias has cut itself off so much from the Chaukhutias, that today they are more akin to the Gonds than to the sister brand of the Chaukhutias. In everyday life, therefore, the Kamars and Bhunjias practically take for granted the social superiority of the Gonds. The material and social consequences of this assumption are now beginning to show themselves clearly. While the older Kamars and Bhunjias still retain their old modes of dress and decoration, particularly hair styles, those of the younger generation increasingly seek to emulate the Gonds. Those who have taken to plough-cultivation build substantial houses and decorate them in the Gond style. Following the Gond example, these Kamars and Bhunjias

are making their marriage rites more elaborate. While the Gonds are moving in the direction of Hinduization, the other two tribes are content to follow their examples. The socially accepted rules of etiquette demand that the Gonds should be shown sane special regard and consideration. When the larger Panchayats of the entire village community, comprising different tribes and castes assemble, the honour of presiding over them almost invariably goes to the Gonds.

The contacts and cooperation, however, do not go very far. The Kamars and Bhunjias, unlike the Gonds of this area, still have their separate dialects. A major section of the Kamars and a considerable section of the Bhunjias even now practise shifting cultivation. The ritual life of the two tribes is remarkably different. The Kamars hesitate considerably in breaking their age-old exclusiveness. Even in the recent past they have demonstrated a psychological disposition to remain attached to their old ways. The Chaukhutia Bhunjias make claim to tribal superiority for their *chokh* (i. e. purity, from which the name Chaukhutia is derived) which according to them is based on two of their unique customs. Firstly they strictly follow the practice of a token pre-puberty marriage in which a girl is nominally married before the commencement of her menstruation to an arrow or a similar object. Secondly, in order to preserve the sanctity of their deities, lodged invariably in the hut used for cooking, they do not let anyone other than those belonging to the clan touch that hut. This rule is so strictly adhered to that even a girl of the family after she is married is not allowed to enter the kitchen of her parental home. For their respective socio-religious matters, like the Gonds, the other two tribes have their own tribal Panchayats.

Because of these differences, therefore, unrestricted social intercourse becomes impossible. The Gonds would not deem it fit to eat or drink at the hands of the Kamars and Bhunjias. Men and children among both the Kamars and Bhunjias can partake of Gond food but their women-folk cannot. Their tribal restrictions in this respect are very strict and the Bhunjias particularly prescribe permanent ostracism of such women. If they come to attend Kamar or Bhunjia marriages

the Gonds must be given a high place of honour. They must be seated separately. They would not participate in the common feast but would have to be given raw food separately so that they may cook it independently elsewhere. Kamars and Bhunjias too do not partake of each other's food. However, in marriages they sit together but cook and eat at different places. In the realm of sex the taboos for maintaining sex exclusiveness are more strict. Although there is considerable leniency with regard to those matters inside the respective tribes themselves, intrigues and *liasons* outside are very strictly dealt with. For social rites and ceremonies the occasions when they meet are very few indeed. Being poor the Kamars and Bhunjias rarely invite any outsiders. The Gonds may occasionally invite them out of charity. In their rituals and ceremonials too the tribes maintain a certain distance. Their Baiga magicians are separate in each case, although at the time of need they can be consulted by anyone irrespective of his tribe. They do not assist one another at the time of funeral or confinement. In religious rites and ceremonies, the occasions for them to participate together are very few. They join together at the time of tying up the tiger-spirit or for hunting witches when the epidemic of cholera spreads. Where their fields are in close proximity they also participate nominally in the ceremonial feast of sowing and harvesting.

Thus the Kamars and Bhunjias must be regarded as exclusive and independent groups who have accepted the leadership and superiority of the Gonds only in some narrow and limited spheres of their life.

II

Adilabad presents the picture of a composite tribal society. Here, the Kolams, still using the hoe, represent the autochthonous element, and the Gonds constitute the aboriginal landed aristocracy. The Pardhans, as elsewhere, are attached to the Gonds as minstrels. Kolams of Adilabad are again a class of minstrels, although they are distinct from and poorer than the Pardhans. All these tribes are marked out from the rest of the rural society by their practice of cow-sacrifice and distinctive myth and ritual. The only tribe not practising cow-sacrifice in this area are the hoe-using Naik-pods.

Some Kolams have their exclusive settlements but on the whole the villages of all these tribes are mixed ones and they do not entertain any sentiment against such villages.

This tribal society is well-integrated. The Gonds had power and influence but they did not disregard the older inhabitants of the land, the Kolams, who continued to worship the territorial deities for them. With their remarkable ceremonial, the Kolams effectively occupied the place of *Pujaris* or priests to the Gond chieftains, landlords and cultivators. The Kolams are therefore not regarded as an inferior people. Many of the Gond-Kolam-Pardhan rituals and ceremonials are identical and common, and in them a Kolam priest officiates. Kolams do not refuse Gond food. Similarly, it is not considered sinful for a Gond to partake of the food in a Kolam house and if they hesitate in this, their hesitation is engendered only by their feudal concept of higher status. Both groups consider matrimonial alliances and sex-intrigues improper, but there are cases on record where offsprings of such unions did not have much difficulty in finding a place in one of the two groups.

This must not, however, lead us to think that the Kolams are just an off-shoot of the Gonds. In physical type, language and primitiveness of their economy they are remarkably different from the Gonds. Known for their great powers of divination they worship *Ayak* and have elaborate magico-religious rites. In the farces and dialogues staged by Gond comedians during marriage ceremonies and at the festive *Dandari* season, comic element is often provided by the depiction of the still primitive and uncivilized ways of the Kolams.

In relation to the Gond, the Pardhan stands on an altogether different footing. He regards the Gonds as his *dhani* or master. The Pardhan as a professional minstrel is traditionally attached to one of the Gond phratries and is by social usage entitled to their support. The elaborate ritual and ceremonial life of the Gond would leave a void if the Pardhan is removed from its scene. Naturally enough the Pardhans beg and eat from the Gonds, but the Gonds cannot reciprocate. The status of the *Tollio* is similar but a little lower.

The tribal society of Adilabad, according to my Gond informants, differ from the rural Hindu community in three respects:

(a) The tribals practise cow-sacrifice at the occasion of Persa Pen's worship in the month of Baisakh; and at the time of the cremation and *Karanu* ceremony of a dead person. On all these occasions or whenever a cow is killed by a carnivorous animal, beef is freely eaten by them.

(b) Among them the bride is first brought to the bride-groom's home and then the marriage rites are performed. Among other castes it is customary to perform these rites at bride's house.

(c) The tribes are particular about keeping a woman out from the normal socio-religious routine of life as long as her menstrual flow lasts, while these rules are not as strictly adhered to by the other castes.

Of these the first is easily the most important. In their developed peasant culture, the Gonds have naturally evolved an elaborate ritual and the Kolams and Pardhans share it in a considerable measure. Hindu sentiment against cow-sacrifice has of course asserted itself in this area too, but the united strength of tribal opinion has been able to hold its own. The Naik-pods alone in tribal Adilabad refrain from beef-eating. Similar in economy to the Kolams, at some places they live in mixed villages, at others in their exclusive tribal settlements. They have mostly adopted Telugu, although a few of them still speak their own ancient dialect. Their economy varies from region to region; in some areas they use the digging stick, in others, they are plough-cultivators, while in the open country-side they are mostly agricultural wage-earners. They do not eat food cooked by another tribe, and like the Hindu castes claim superiority over the Gonds, Kolams and Pardhans.

It is noteworthy that the Kolams who are, in their physical features and tribal economy, similar to the Kamars have in this area developed an entirely different pattern of relationship with the Gonds whose position in Adilabad resembles greatly the status of the Amat Gonds of Chhattisgarh.

III

In the Warangal district of Hyderabad specially in the Godavari gorge, the principal tribes are the Koyas and the Hill Reddis. The Koyas are an offshoot of the Gonds, numerically large enough to constitute an independent section of the great Gond tribes. They are known by their distinctive bison-horn and peacock feathered head dress worn during their dances. A considerable portion of the Koyas still speak their own dialect. The Hill Reddis belong to the same area and still largely maintain their primitive methods of shifting cultivation. They have lost their ancient dialect and have now universally adopted Telugu as their language. While there are several exclusive Koya or Hill Reddy settlements, the number of large mixed villages having both these tribes is also considerable. In these villages separate clusters of Koya and Reddy houses are constructed on two different portions of the same site. However, vast patches of land or 'jungle' do not separate them.

The Hill Reddis differ from the Koyas in one major respect. While the Koyas practise cow-sacrifice, the Reddis do not have any such custom. Being numerically strong the Koyas could resist Hindu sentiment against cow-sacrifice, although it did mean some loss of social prestige for them in the eyes of their Hindu neighbours. On the contrary by observing the Hindu injunction the Hill Reddis actually rose higher than the Koyas in the esteem of the Hindu population. Cow-sacrifice has a vital place in a Koya funeral and as such they regard it as an essential element of their culture. The Koyas eat beef, the Hill Reddis do not touch it. They have other differences too. In the mode of the dress of their women-folk there is slight but noticeable difference. In their dances of the Mango Festival the Koyas never participate. On other occasions in their respective dances the Koya and Hill-Reddy women dance separately, never mixing with each other. The Reddis cannot accept Koya food, but the Koyas do not object to food cooked by the Reddis. Ordinarily they mix about freely, but they avoid touching each other at the time of eating. Sex relations between the two tribes are of course strictly forbidden.

Notwithstanding these differences, their participation in each other's social and ceremonial life is remarkable. In all the crises of

human life-cycle they join and assist each other. At the time of confinement Koya and Hill Reddi women attend on each other without any restrictions. Similarly, in marriages they invite each other. The Koyas make separate seating arrangements for the Reddis and give them raw food to be cooked by themselves. In the Reddi weddings the Koyas sit separately, but cooked food is served to them. In funeral processions they go together, although a Koya would not help in carrying a Reddi corpse or vice versa unless it becomes absolutely necessary. In the religious ceremonies of Bhudevi Panduga (worship of Mother Earth), Mamidikaya Panduga (Mango Festival) and Danavai Panduga they act jointly, priest of any one group officiates. They separate only at the time of eating.

In this area we see a third pattern of inter-tribal adjustment. Although the Reddis are regarded by the general consensus of Hindu opinion as relatively higher than the beef-eating Koyas, the exigencies of a life in a common but isolated, secluded and distant habitat have forced them to evolve an adjustment which works quite smoothly.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

"INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY" Vol. I: By Dr. Ralph Piddington, Reader in Social Anthropology, in the University of Edinburgh: Published by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1950: Pages 442: Price 25 shillings.

This book is designed to introduce to the beginners, particularly the University students, the science of social anthropology and is therefore eminently suitable as a text-book on social anthropology. The author has tried to make the subject easy of understanding and has given copious examples to explain and elucidate the different aspects of primitive culture. The author has also given notes for the guidance of teachers and students which should prove very useful in the study of the subject.

There are eleven chapters in the book and they cover almost the entire range of social anthropology. At the end of every chapter, a bibliography has been given, thus providing the inquisitive student materials for further detailed study. A special feature of the book is that the important terms and definitions are given in bold types to attract notice and impression in the mind of readers.

The treatment of the cultures of peoples is based on the functional method. After a broad survey of primitive cultures throughout the world and a description of the types of social organization found in the primitive communities, the author goes on to state the general principles of cultural analysis and to deal with primitive economics, land tenure, religion andm agic.

P. K. M.

The book is thus a very useful text-book on Social Anthropology and together with Vol. II (to be published later) will be a very valuable addition to the literature on Social Anthropology.

"NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE PACIFIC WORLD:" By Prof. Felix M. Keesing of Stanford University: Published by the MacMillan Company of New York, 1947, Pages 144.

This book is one of the series called the Pacific World Series, published under the auspices of The American Committee for Inter-

national Wild Life Protection, describing the natural history and peoples of the numerous islands of the Pacific Ocean. This book was originally written for the use of the armed forces in the Pacific War theatres, but still it will prove very useful to the general reader who wants to have information about this part of the world, in a handy form.

The book is divided into nine chapters, bearing on ethnography, language, government, economics, social customs and religion. The chapters are full of useful and interesting details about the life and lore of the various peoples inhabiting this vast region. The book contains a number of interesting pictures depicting the various phases of the life of these people.

The two appendices give useful statistics and chronology of these regions.

P. K. M.

"SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY:" THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE: By J. S. Slotkin, Assistant Professor of Social Science, University of Chicago: Published by the Macmillan Company of New York: 1950, Pages 604; Price 36 shillings.

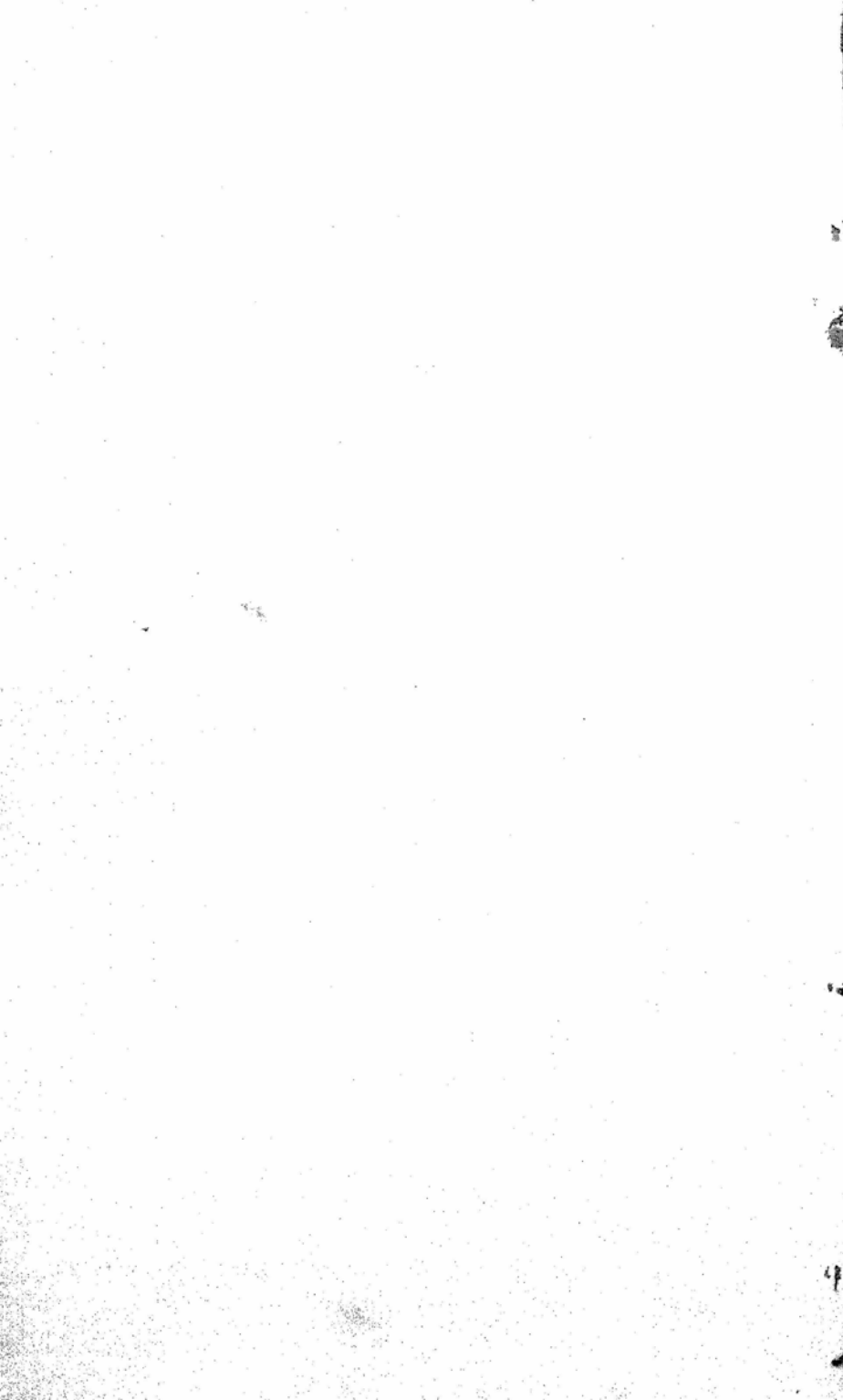
This book, as the Preface says, is an attempt to provide a systematic introduction to social and cultural anthropology. The book is divided into sixteen chapters with two indices. The book is literally crammed with references culled from various sources providing materials for comparative study of customs and behaviour of peoples under different environments. Copious references to the original works should help the inquisitive student to follow up the study in greater details but the author has failed to utilise his opportunities by wrong selection of literature and a superficial acquaintance with anthropological facts. Professor Louis Wirth in his Foreward points out "that Dr. Slotkin's work shows convincingly how much social anthropology has to offer in this direction to sociologists, political scientists, economists, psychologists, jurists and other special students of human behaviour by confronting them with insights gathered from societies other than our own". This is probably right in a way but the treatment of the subject by the author leaves much to be desired.

P. K. M.

"THE CHILDREN OF HARI": A Study of the Nimar Balahis in the Central Provinces of India: By Stephen Fuchs: Published by Verlag Herold. Vienna. 1950, Pages 463.

This exhaustive monograph by Father Stephen Fuchs, published in the series called "*Wiener Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte and Linguistik*", deals with the entire life and lore of an untouchable caste in Central India called the Balahis. The author made detailed study of every phase of the life of this community during his ten years' work among them as a missionary. He had thus ample opportunity to study them at close quarters. An illuminating foreword has been contributed by Dr. Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf. In his concluding chapter entitled "The Future of the Balahis", the author has made many shrewd observations about the future position of the untouchable classes in general and the Balahis in particular, which deserve serious consideration by all who have the welfare of the backward classes of India at heart. The missionary point of view need not be a handicap in presenting scientific data, and Rev. Fuchs has fairly got over hurdles, though, sceptics can pin him down to some of his observations as depicting a perspective.

P. K. M.



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COMMUNITY-CONFLICT AMONG THE DEPRESSED CASTES OF ANDHRA

N. SUBHA REDDI

THE Mala and the Madiga are the untouchable castes of Andhra. This Telugu-speaking area comprises eleven districts of Madras State besides portions of Hyderabad, Orissa and Mysore. The present study is confined to Madras State only. The Mala are known to be the counterparts of the Paraiyan of Tamilnad and of the Holey of Mysore, while the Chakkeliyan of Tamilnad acknowledge themselves as Madiga and continue even to-day to speak Telugu at home, and in Mysore the Madiga are known as such. The Mala and the Madiga occupy the lowest status in society and their social disabilities are numerous. To mention them briefly, their touch is believed to cause pollution; they live outside the main village; they cannot draw water from the common wells; the washermen and barbers do not serve them.

This condemnation of these castes by the society apart, these castes between themselves observe scrupulous segregation. The Mala have a separate hamlet, while the Madiga have their own. The food from the hands of one is taboo for the other. So is water. They never draw water from the same well, and where only one caste has a well in its hamlet and the other has not, the members of the latter caste have to either depend on the ponds or go all the way to the main village and wait at the well for some interior casteman to pour water in their pitchers. Even when they have to eat together the food offered by their master, the Mala and the Madiga sit in separate rows, if they do not actually turn their backs on each other. This can also be observed among the young boys and girls of the two castes that attend the labour schools where mid-day meal is served. In the rural areas these boys of the depressed castes sit in separate rows. If the food is cooked by a member of one of these castes, the boys of the other caste do not eat, so much so the service of a cook

belonging to the interior caste has to be enlisted in these schools. Marriage between the two castes is unthinkable. There is such a deep-seated antagonism between these communities that the very name of one causes irritation in the other. The sword-dance of the Madiga which forms an essential part of all their ceremonies is the most despicable thing for the Mala. If a Madiga brandishes a red cloth that is enough insult for the Mala and if the former comes out with a sword in hand and bells on his ankles to embark on his sword-dance, the Mala, if possible, will maul him and his castemen, or if not, will coolly quit the place and evade that abominable sight. Aggravating the situation, the Madiga go on adding to the traditional dance-song new pieces of invective aimed at the Mala.

A Mala procession can never pass through a Madiga hamlet and the Madiga cannot beat their drums near the Mala residence. Where one caste is predominant the bridegroom of the other caste cannot mount a horse and go about the main streets even in a town. Any small incident is enough to act as a trigger for the outburst of violence between these two castes. Even recently at Budavaripalli near Kurnool a battle royal raged between the two communities for an alleged insult of a Madiga woman by a Mala. At Kadavakollu in Tadipatri taluk of Anantapur district some members of Mala caste have been murdered for encroaching on the Madiga's right to carron. In Totalacheruvupalli of Nellore district (Udayagiri taluk) a conflict is smouldering since long resulting in prolonged litigation, and any day it might burst into devouring flames. These are but a few instances of overt violence and aggression that occur from time to time between these two castes. There is a lot of mutual hatred and aversion. On the positive side each caste claims to be the superior and on the negative side the other caste is treated as a worthy object to be consigned to perdition. An insult from one depressed caste is insufferable for the other. There are social conventions which enjoin that if one is beaten, or spit upon by a member of the other depressed caste, not only his castemen should wreak vengeance on the offender, but the injured man himself should pay a fine for the ignominy he brought upon his community. While adultery with higher castes is not taken serious notice of, any illicit connection with the other depressed caste is met with drastic ostracism. If a Mala and a Madiga cohabit they have no place in either caste and they will be forced to flee their homes. At Edigapalli and Edimpalli of Nellore taluk a whole hamlet is formed of hybrid offsprings who have created a separate caste of their own contracting marriages

amongst themselves. A similar hamlet is formed near Brahmam Matham in Badveli taluk of Cuddepah district. At many places the scavenger service is manned mostly by such heretical spouses.

The impact of Christianity has given occasion to the manifestation of this deep seated conflict of the two castes in another form. It also discloses what relations an alien can establish amongst these castes in the context of the traditional antagonism. Wherever I went during my tours, there was a tendency in me to settle down in the hamlet which is bigger whether it is of the Mala or the Madiga. This at once created a suspicion in the minds of other castes who always tried to maintain some distance from me. The tendency to begin baptism with the bigger group must have been natural in the case of Christian Missionaries. The result is that where the Madiga predominate the converts amongst them constitute a greater proportion to the total caste than the proportion of the Mala converts, and vice versa. In Udaigiri taluk of Nellore district the Madiga constitute the majority, and Christian converts, excepting in a few villages, are found amongst Madiga and Madiga alone, while the Mala who constitute the minority have clung on to their old denomination. In places where two missions are at work, each comes to claim the allegiance of one particular community, evoking the aversion of the other. At Markapuram in Kurnool district the Mala flocked to the Roman Catholic Church while the Madiga acceded to American Baptist Mission. In Nellore town itself the two castes joined separate churches.

This animosity among the depressed classes is, however, not without parallels. Hutton reveals that in Assam a Patni would not row for a Muchi and in Bombay the Mahar refuses to share their councils and conferences with the Chamar. The counterparts of Mala and Madiga in Tamilnad and Mysore carry on their traditional feud.

LEGENDARY BASIS

In the mythology of these people the following facts afford some clue to this antagonism. According to the Madiga, the Mala were born in the menstrual blood of Parvati, and so their name is derived from *Maila* or polluting substance. But the Mala claim that they were born from Parvati's garland or *Mala*. The mythology of the Mala continues that the sword, the red cloth and the ankle bells that are now displayed by the Madiga originally belonged to the Mala. By divine dispensation the Mala began their lives on earth as persons in charge of the graveyards and Virabahu was the first

Mala on earth. This Virabahu had come to have a Madiga concubine, and one day when he was closeted with her, her brothers turned up from the forest and beheaded him, after which they took away from him the sword, the red cloth and the ankle bells. Since then these articles became the possessions of the Madiga. So the Mala claim that these articles which were theirs were snatched away by the Madiga in a cowardly manner and through disgraceful means. They adduce the following lines of the dance-song sung by the Madiga in support of their contention: "To Virabahu belonged this sword, we got it for us in a special mode." The Madiga disapprove of this legend and claim that Virabahu was himself a Madiga and the reference to a certain method only means the way in which Adijambava created this world and bestowed upon the Madiga these implements to carry on certain specialised functions. These legends have a wide currency and in consequence to an average Madiga a Mala symbolises pollution, and to a Mala the Madiga looks just like a bastard. Such are the rationalisations that underlie their outlooks. Scurrilous mythological lore symbolise their violent, antagonistic attitudes.

FACTIONS AMONGST THE CASTES

But the Mala and the Madiga are not self-contained communities. They are but parts of a bigger hierarchical Hindu Society and as such the attitudes and the activities of the other castes and their influence on the relations between the depressed castes must be taken into account. At the very first glance, it will be obvious that the dichotomy amongst the depressed castes is a part of the wider cleavage that obtains among many lower castes in South India. These factions were termed as Right-hand and Left-hand sections. Thurston cites a passage from the Census Report of Mysore (1891) which relates that Sankyamuni and Yugamuni the ancestors of the Holeya (the counterpart of Mala) and the Madiga, stood at the right and left sides of the entrance respectively when they received the curse from Indra, for the sin of killing the divine cow, Kamadhenu. In the Mysore Gazetteer also, it is written that the Holeya are referred to as *Balagai* (of the Right Hand group) and the Madiga as *Edagai* (of the Left-hand group). These designations as Right-hand and Left-hand groups are not in vogue in Andhra, but nevertheless they are convenient terms of reference. This division in Andhra ostensibly based on religious factions. All the castes of the right-hand section claim to be the followers of Ramanuja while the followers of the left-hand section claim to be Saivites.

The difficulty in enumerating and identifying these several castes has been explained at length by Hutton. The list I present is compiled out of whatever information I could gather from the roving acrobats and such repertories of caste lore. The first group consists of castes whose number is eighteen and a half. These are Balija (small scale agriculturists and traders), Mala, Chakali (washermen), Mangali (Barbers), Kummari (Potters), Vaddi (Stonebuilder and ground-levellers), Medara (bamboo-workers), Nunegamalla (one-bull-oil pressers), Guda Desari (nomadic beggars), Pitchigunta, Dommara, Erukala, Lambadi, Mondri, Banda, Yanadi (criminal tribes), Gudaram, Elipokatla (their identity not known to the writer) and Gudidevara. The last named caste is counted only as a half because he is allowed to carry on his profession of carrying an idol of a goddess round the village, begging alms only for the first half of the day. For the second half he is expected to rest.

This section is generally known as *setti samme* or Setti group and many castes of this group append the suffix 'setti' to their caste names. Its leadership hails from the first-named caste, Balija who purport to be the philosophical guides of this sect. Though Brahmins usually keep aloof from this sectarian schism in the lower castes, at a few places even Brahmin adherence of the extreme Ramanujite cult have openly associated themselves with this Serti group. Late Yeturi Ganesayya of Bata in Udaigiri taluk (Nellore district), I was told, used to go to the extent of dining with the castes of this sect on all ceremonial occasions including funeral feasts. Some Vaisyas of Vinjamuru of the same taluk even now associate themselves with this sect.

The second section comprises seven castes, Berichetti (Trader), Devanga (weaver), Kamsali (smiths), Golla (cowherds), Jangam (Saivite priests) Nunegamalla (two-bull oil pressers) and Madiga. This sect professes allegiance to Saivism and indeed Sangam, Devanga and Kamsali are extreme Saivites. The virile and the local leaders of this group are Golla. Both Mala and Madiga, are used by their respective sects as mere fodder for the opponents' powder.

A probe into the religious layers of these communities reveals certain prior dispositions. Channa Kesavulu, the caste deity of the Mala is not worshipped by the Madiga. Likewise Mathamma, a form of *Adisakti* and the tutelar deity of the Madiga, is not shown any deference by the Mala. In the traditional caste song of the Madiga, there is a repeated address to *linga* the idol of Siva. Any old Madiga even today proudly claims that in the far-famed past every implement of his, bore the impress of Siva's idol. But not all the

Mala castemen are Ramanujites, nor all the Madiga Saivites. The existence of Saivites among the Mala might be a tribute to Saivite proselytism and the handful of Madiga Ramanujites here and there might represent the achievement of Ramanuja's preachings. But this sectarian minority in each caste never formed a distinguishable unit by itself. Sectarian leanings are drowned in the ocean of caste considerations. The lone example of faith claiming the better of caste is afforded by a Madiga priest of Mahimaluru in Atmakur taluk of Nellore district, an ardent follower of Ramanuja, who does not mind dining with a Ramanujite Mala but never dines with a Saivite Madiga. But even he has given his daughter in marriage to a Saivite Madiga, and though in dining he transcended the boundries of caste, in marriage he could not.

Judging from strict religious practice apart from professed fealty one cannot sort out any individual as a Ramanujite or Saivite, except on the basis of divergence in the mortual ceremonies. In all the practices and customs connected with the other branches of life, Saivites and Ramanujites are undistinguishable among the depressed classes. Both the castes provide the important functionaries for reciting *hosanas* and for severing, the head of the sacrificial animal in the festivals of the village goddesses like Ankamma and Poleramma. Rama is the popular god of all, and most of the hamlets whether of the Mala or the Madiga erect temples for Rama. All make vows to the prominent deity of the locality whoever it be. This situation reveals that the religious superstructure in its growth, has by-passed the barriers of caste and left them as they were. Any explanation of this two-fold division of society on the basis of religious sects alone is untenable. What suffices for this study is to note that this division is a sociological reality, the wide ramifications of which embrace many an aspect of social life, leading to a clear-cut alignment of the lower castes.

There are also certain taboos in connection with interdining based on these factions. The Mala and the Madiga, though relegated to the lowest position in Hindu society, donot accept food from certain castes of the opposite sect who may be occupying a higher social status. Thus for the Mala, the food offered by Kamsali, Zangam, Devanga, and the two-bull oil-pressers is taboo, while the Madiga refuse food from Chakali, Mangali and one-bull oil-pressers. The taboo on interdining between the Mala and the Madiga is sacrosanct and a Mala whether a Ramanujite or a Saivite thinks it a sacrilege to dine in a house of a Madiga whatever be his faith. The Madiga also

thinks likewise about dining with a Mala. Whatever may be the extent of exactitude to which these taboos are observed by other castes aligned in this dichotomy, this factionalism has struck deep roots in the emotional life of the depressed castes. The Baliya and the Golla, the articulate champions of these two sects respectively, often whip up animosity and the Mala and Madiga readily jump into the field to give vent to their pent-up feelings.

I came upon a printed copy of rules and regulations prescribed by the leader of the Setti groups, one Ramaswami Setti, who is believed to have had considerable influence in Kalahasti and Venkat-giri taluks. Testifying to a central organisation, this paper postulates a code of social behaviour for the castes that come under this group, and suitable fines and punishments were prescribed for the delinquents. There is also a reference in it that all these castes have given solemn assent to have the said Ramaswami Chetty as the supreme arbitrator with regard to all disputes within the castes of this sect.

In fact wherever the Baliya are prominent, the Mala show an enormous self-confidence, and where the Golla preponderate the position of the Madiga is unsullied. The social position of the two depressed castes often depends on the comparative strength of the Golla and Baliya. Not seldom the factional favouritism exceeds its limits and tilts the delicate balance of social relations in an area that is established by each caste keeping within its bounds.

OCCUPATIONAL SET-UP

The occupational division among the depressed castes is important as a factor working for cooperation and conflict. An average village in Andhra has two distinct functional adjuncts, a Mala hamlet and a Madiga hamlet. In north-western Andhra, the Madiga outnumber the Mala and in Southern Andhra the Mala preponderate. In consequence not all the villages in the former area have Mala hamlets, and some villages in southern Andhra are without Madiga hamlets. But a overwhelming majority of the villages have both the hamlets, and the society as a whole moves on with the Mala and the Madiga as essential parts in the functioning of the village organisation. There are certain social functions which are exclusively assigned to the depressed classes. The office of a village servant that entails all manual assistance to the village officers is their perquisite. The carriage of the village cattle is their right. Digging of graves and performing the two important tasks of cutting the neck of the sacrificial animal and sprinkling the blood-soaked grain over the fields during the festival of the village goddess, are their duties. They also beat drums and

provide trumpets and fanfare on all festive occasions. In some villages they have also the specialised communal functions such as *Neerukattu* which means feeding all the fields with water from the village tank and *Bandila* that is, staving off the cattle from the crop. Tanning of skin and making articles of leather constitute the exclusive profession of the Madiga. In the non-deltaic area many a Mala family ekes out its existence by weaving. The dreary agricultural labour and the drudgery of bond-serfdom are the lot of both these castes, beside of a few other lower classes. Excepting leather work which is the traditional occupation of the Madiga, all other tasks are performed by both these communities. This is not to say that both the castes together perform these tasks at all places. On the contrary, what the Mala do at a place becomes their special preserve and an encroachment upon it by the Madiga will not be countenanced, while at another place the same occupation becomes the perquisite of the Madiga who keep the Mala at bay. The right to these various services is jealously guarded by each community, and there is a (vague) feeling that these rights belonged to the original settlers of the locality.

If we now attempt to delineate the territorial distribution of the rights and privileges of the respective castes, we arrive at the following broad outlines. In the N. W. Andhra that is, the major portions of Bellary and Anantapur districts, all these rights belong to the Madiga. Here the Madiga are attached to the land holders under regular employment. They also work as village servants, dig graves, perform all the functions in the village festival and claim all the carcasses. The Mala in these parts have to depend on haphazard agricultural labour besides some other skilled occupation. A little eastward, the conditions differ. In Tadipatri taluk of Anantapur district bordering upon Kurnool the Mala are the common grave-diggers. The right of working as a village servant is shared by both the castes, and if in one village there is a Madiga as a village servant, in another village a Mala performs the same function. The carrion is shared by both. Further eastward, in Kurnool district, both Mala and Madiga share in the rights to carrion and to the office of the village servant. Digging of graves is the monopoly of the Mala, and severing the head of the sacrificial animal in the village festival is the prerogative of the Madiga. The other function in the festival, namely sprinkling of blood-soaked grain over the fields is lost to the Madiga here, and it is done at some places by the Mala and at other places by another caste called Boya. To the south from here, that is in the border taluks

between Cuddapah and Nellore districts the same conditions described for Kurnool exist with the exception that the task of sprinkling the blood-soaked grain is performed by the Mala alone and is not shared by the Boya. So here in the village festival there is an equal distribution of functions, as it were, between these two castes viz., while a Madiga beheads the animal, a Mala runs about with a winnowing plate filled with blood-soaked grain and sprinkles it over all the fields within the village boundries. All over the coastal area of Nellore district both the functions in the festival are performed by the Mala as also the task of grave-digging. The privilege to work as a village servant as well as the right to carrion is shared by both. In Gudur and Venkatagiri taluks of Nellore district the carcass of an animal belonging to a ryot is shared in the following way. The right hind-leg as well as the flesh round about the vertebral column will be taken by the Madiga attached to the ryot's family; the left hind-leg is taken by the Mala farm-servants of the ryot; the right foreleg goes to the village servant who may be a Mala or a Madiga; the remaining leg is taken by the other functionaries like field-watcher and water regulator, where they exist, otherwise it will be consumed by the Mala farm-servants. In Chittor district, that is the southernmost Andhra, all these rights belong to the Mala. The Madiga in these parts have to depend on his traditional profession of making leather implements, like shoes, buckets and belts, besides miscellaneous wage-labour.

What is of significance in this set up is that this occupational division does not lead to an exchange of services between these two castes themselves. Whatever a depressed caste performs it is in the service of the higher castes but rarely for the other depressed caste. Working as a village servant and performing some important functions in the festivals are services rendered unto the higher castes only. So is grave-digging, and even if one depressed castemen are functioning as general grave-diggers, as far as the other caste is concerned the latter digs graves for its own dead. Then only remains, the need of the Mala for the shoes which are made by the Madiga. Even in this case, the habit of the majority to go without shoes, and the practice of Mala farm-servants receiving their shoes indirectly through their employer, diminish a direct dependence of the Mala on the Madiga. So the binding influence of division of labour is lost to them. The bulk of services to the other castes, which both the depressed castes are ready to render, constitute, in MacIver's terms, 'like interests' leading not to concordance but to competition and conflict in so far as the gains of one are the losses of the other. The fluidity of occu-

pational division that allows the same tasks to be performed by one caste at one place and by another at the second place, brings to a clash the similar interests of these castes.

Even taking into view only a limited area, the set mode of occupational differentiation works smoothly when the obtaining pattern is undisturbed at least within that area. But if it contradicts what either community accepts as traditionally determined, then there is conflict. The following examples represent deviations from the prevailing patterns of occupational division—deviations often wrought by the sectarian prejudices of the more powerful castes. In N. W. Andhra, as already noted all the rights and privileges belong to the Madiga. But then exceptions exist. In Anantapur and Gooty towns the Mala dig graves for the Balija, and at the latter place they told me that this right has been conceded to them by the Madiga at the pressure of the Balija, some twenty years ago. In Siddalapuram near Anantapur where the Balija are predominant the Mala dig graves for all castes. Recently in Kadavakollu of Tadipatri taluk, the Balija tried to give their dead animals exclusively to the Mala against usage, which led to a violent riot between the Mala and the Madiga. At Totala Churuvupalli in Udaigiri taluk of Nellore district, the exercise by the Mala, of the right of joining the regular employment of the ryots, which is generally denied to them in these parts, is a constant eyesore for the Madiga. In southern Andhra at Panapakam of Chittoor district, the Balija went to the extent of depriving the Madiga of their traditional occupation of providing leather implements and got their buckets stitched by their Mala farm-servants which is a unique instance. At Dakkali in Venkatagiri taluk of Nellore district, the Golla who are strong, encouraged the Madiga to repudiate the Mala's share in carrion, which led to prolonged tension between these two castes.

An additional factor that often precipitates a quarrel is the example of neighbouring locality where their counterparts enjoy greater privileges. When a Madiga of Kovur taluk in Nellore district sings that both the swords, big and small, belong to him, he is extending to his taluk the privileges which his castemen enjoy in Udaigiri taluk of the same district. The big sword referred to in the song is the instrument by which the sacrificial animal is beheaded and which in Kovur taluk is handled by the Mala and not the Madiga. This evokes an immediate protest from the Mala of this area to whom the Madiga with his far-fetched claims looks like an imposter.

What is more, the division of occupation is related in their

minds, to differentiation of social status. To work as a village servant and to be the chief functionary in a festival are symbols of social status. In the midst of miserable existence, carrion comes as a substitute source of subsistence, besides enlivening their parched palates. Grave digging as any other traditional right, urges the holder of the right to perpetuate his profession. Low in the social ladder and performing the lowly tasks, the Mala and the Madiga suffer from all the disadvantages of a shifting pattern of occupational division and lack of traditionally determined social status as between them. With a legendary lore that provokes each to pour obscene abuse on the other, these castes wrangle for superior status and scramble for enlarged occupation. That none of these two can accept to be at the lowest level of the social scale is a proof of the genius of the land that fosters hierarchical attitudes and creates a tendency in each caste to rate itself superior to at least some. Mandelbaum aptly sums up the social organisation of India: "Each community within a village cherishes some bit of custom, some practice which is distinctive to that group, and which supposedly marks its superiority to some other social group. For no community is so lowly that it does not consider some other below it on the social scale." (Hindu Muslim Conflict in India, *The Middle East Journal*, October, 1947).

FRUSTRATION

Added to all this, there is the constant oppression by the higher castes that stifles the entire social life of these classes. Deep frustration is evident and aggressive impulses naturally surge up. But where will aggression find its vent? The real sources of oppression are not amenable for attack. So animosity is diverted in a different direction towards an object more within the reach. It is thus the two depressed castes often stand with their swords drawn at each other. The following passage in Powdermaker's essay on the channelisation of Negro aggression by cultural process throws much light on social conditions like these which involve conflict amongst the down-trodden communities in the constant presence of oppressive, higher social classes: "The high degree of intra-Negro quarreling, crime and homicide,...can be directly correlated with the Negro's frustration in being unable to vent his hostility on the White. The mechanism of substitution of one object of aggression for another is well known to the scientist and the layman. The substitution of Negro for White is encouraged by the culture pattern of White Official and unofficial leniency towards intra-Negro crime." (Personality, edited by Kluckhohn and Murray Page 477). While the American situation

implies conflict within the same Negro community, the situation under consideration has the additional invigorating factor of the two parties being separate in groups with different labels to identify themselves. Further, there is the direct incitement by other castes and very often these are beguiled into unnecessary conflicts. Such conflicts continue to serve the selfish interests of the higher castes. Though the two sects arrayed against each other embrace many a caste, the conflict is most acute among the depressed classes and its edge gets progressively blunted among the higher castes, which again shows that myth has a mightier hold on the poorer classes and animosity has a stronger base where frustration is deeper. The Balija and the Golla the respective champions of the two opposing sects freely interdine, while the Mala and the Madiga cannot contemplate it. At Totalacheruvupalli of Nellore district the village Munsif who is a Balija relieved himself of all sectarian prejudices and began exploiting both the Mala and the Madiga unscrupulously taking advantage of a minor conflict that arose between these two castes during a festival. The Reddi and Kamma, the landed castes of Andhra, do not generally attach themselves to any sect and exploit with greater ease the differences among the depressed castes.

HISTORICAL MATERIALISM AND MODERN ANTHROPOLOGY

N. A. KHAN

The key to Marxist approach to socio-cultural relations is provided by Engels: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, published in 1884, although it is diffused in a scattered form in *Anti Duhring* (1877-78), the first volume of *Capital* (Third Edition, 1883) and the English Edition, 1888, of the *Communist Manifesto*, written jointly by Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels. The basis was provided by Lewis H. Morgan whose *Ancient Society*, Karl Marx had read towards the close of his life and made full ninety-eight pages notes with extracts from it. He himself could not complete the task of interpreting Morgan which was left to his friend and associate, Engels. What Marx himself would have written on it we do not know, for although Engels has rather profusely quoted from Marx, his observations are looked upon with certain reservation by some writers.¹ The main line of reasoning is, however, this. The fundamental determinants of social culture are the mode and technique of production which in their turn breed attitudes, actions and civilisations. They have a logic of their own, viz, that the change according to necessities inherent in them and do not require any external propeller to produce their successors. There is thus one-way relationship between economic forces and cultural phenomena and the course of history marches on producing theses and anti-theses in a dialectical way. Much has been said on this 'oversimplification' of history, the logic employed to buttress the point, the authenticity or otherwise of the data used and deliberate negligence or casual oversight of other contemporary evidence which did not obviously fit in this scheme of things. Even assuming that the conclusions arrived at were 'logical' on the basis of knowledge then existing, there is every reason to bring them up-to-date and test whether the same conclusions hold good in the light of modern scientific researches in the field of anthropology and other social sciences.

Nor is it by any means an impossible proposition. Marx has been elaborated in various directions by his own successors. We may quote, for instance, the theory of *Capitalist Development in Agriculture*

1. Cf. Joseph Schumpeter goes as far as to say that 'we cannot be sure that he always got the latter's meaning. His interpretations must therefore be used with care' (*Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, p. 39).

ture by Lenin, Lenin's Imperialism and Maurice Dobb's Studies in the Development of Capitalism, not to mention other writers, like Hobson,¹ G. D. H. Cole,² Veblen³ and Paul Sweezy,⁴ who have been accused of deviationism in one respect or the other. (Cf. Cole's observations on the behaviour of the middle class and Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption). Attempts have been made to reconstruct his theory of classes and periodic economic crises inherent in capitalist structure. But so far no equally commendable effort has been made to review his position regarding cultural history.

What can be the possible reasons for this? Is it due to any fear lest the Marxist interpretations may not hold the light of later researches, or due to Marxist's faith in the logic of his reasoning and, therefore, the redundancy of any further corroborations, or due to a distrust of modern 'bourgeois' sociology and social anthropology and hence their mistaken conclusions and deliberate misconstructions of facts? To hold the first is to strike at the root of Marxism and its otherwise reasonable and sufficiently, if not altogether consistently, logical attitude. Nor will Marxists agree with Max Eastman who holds that Marx's scientific socialism is anything but scientific, that is philosophy in the very sense that he denounced philosophy, that it is a deliberate attempt at rationalisation of history and as such particularly unscientific in its attitude.⁵ Sydney Hook in a similar strain has dubbed 'a priori rationalism' or 'voluntaristic irrationalism' of later Marxists as foreign to the spirit of Karl Marx's theory.⁶ Joseph Schumpeter has, however, been more liberal in his appreciation of Marx but has criticised him from the point of view of logical construction, basic assumptions and structural defects in reasoning.⁷

We are faced with the problem as to why then this gap between Marxist generalisations and cotemporary evidence? If fundamental social relations of production influence the character, extent and development of cultural activity, why have they not been perceived as such (by Marxists) in the findings of social sciences in the last half a century? Why is it that Marxists still cling to researches

1. John A. Hobson: The Evolution of Modern Capitalism; and his Imperialism.
2. G. D. H. Cole: The Meaning of Marxism.
3. T. Veblen: The Theory of Leisure Class.
4. Paul Sweezy: The Theory of Capitalist Development; and Socialism.
5. The Marxian Philosophy, in The Making of Society, edited by C. F. Calverton, Modern Library Series.
6. The Scope of Marxian Theory, in C. F. Calverton, op. cit.
7. Op. cit.

which by all account are now out of date? Even if we desist from labelling this as 'intellectual debacle of orthodox Marxism'¹ the lacuna is 'challenging the serious efforts of students of Marxism to explain. Nor will it do any good to characterise the entire mass of contemporary evidence as vitiated by wrong approach of 'bourgeois' anthropologists who seek to explain the current attitudes and find primitive and even pre-human analogies in an effort to justify the continued presence of certain institutions and cultural surrogates which are the peculiar product of nineteenth century individualism and middle class morality. That may be true in part but as against that we have the consideration that modern anthropology is more developed in technique than in Morgan's days it ever was and any generalisations based on unscientific and loosely collected data then existing can at best have only partial validity. Nor did Engels ever show any such rigidity of approach. For he realised the necessity of re-writing his, *Origin of the Family*, even after seven years of its first publication during which time, he admits, our knowledge of the primitive forms of the family has made much advances.² He tried to trace the development of the history of the family from Bachofen to Morgan and made important observations on the English anthropologists of his day, chiefly McLennan.³

Many important developments have taken place in cultural anthropology during the last hundred years or so. Various waves of diffusionists, historical school, environmentalists, functionalists and lastly the social psychologists have left their impress on this otherwise young science. Morgan seemed to hold the day for some time in the middle of the nineteenth century and had considerable influence among the so-called radicals in spite of the severe attacks of McLennan on his theory of nomenclature and the assault of many other thinkers on his contentions. Viewed in the light of historical developments of his day he was but to have popular intellectual support as his theory supplied the social counterpart of the then prevailing Darwinian hypothesis of biological evolution. Those were the days of rising industrialism, of *laissez faire* economy and competitive logic and both Morgan and his successors found ready applause from the current social attitudes rooted in the heightened individualism of middle class ethics.⁴ As against that the tendency in the

1. Sydney Hook, loc. cit.

2. *Origin of the Family*, Indian Edition (1944), p. 4.

3. Ibid, Preface to the Fourth Edition (1891), pp. 8 et. seq.

4. C. F. Calverton, loc. cit.

first half of the twentieth century has been towards a greater emphasis on the group rather than the individual and a reorientation of the nineteenth century mores and absolutistic concepts. This could not but have its effect on the social sciences. The *laissez faire* view in economics has to an extent been discredited. The need for some measure of public regulation of private property and enterprise is recognised. The Darwinian hypothesis of competition and survival of the fittest has been supplemented by stress on cooperation in different levels of plant, animal and human life as shown by modern ecology. The *Gestalt* view was introduced in social psychology and had its repercussions on the methods and techniques of analysis in modern sociology. The theory of classes took a more concrete (or deviationist?) shape in the groups and stress was laid on understanding the various segments of culture in their totality and not as isolated traits, in functional anthropology. We thus find that the emphasis is on the total situation and away from the simple generalisations so characteristic of the earlier period.

Is this all a mental camouflage intentionally created to debar us from understanding the true social situation, the motive forces working behind it and the shape the things must inevitably take due to inexorable economic circumstances? Is this talk about groups and institutions an apologia for the existing social code or a diversion from the main economic (and social) problem viz. the class conflict? I have my own doubt if it is. But even if we take this 'over simplification' of the situation as approximately correct, the fact remains that no serious attempt has been made so far to expose this mass of seemingly confused thinking *from the point of view of present methodology*.¹ Nor do I think it is an impossible task. If Edward Westermarck² could be discredited by equally voluminous and contesting evidence of Robert Briffault³ and some eminent biologists,⁴ there is no reason why the host of other anthropologists may not be likewise treated by an up-to-date scrutiny of historical antecedents.

Already we find some aversion from the monographic study of particular cultures to a consideration of the cultural phenomena in the

1. Even as late as in 1947 there was the controversy between Leslie A. White and Robert H. Lowie on the justification of Morgan and his principles (See *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 49, no. 3, July-September, 1947).
2. *The History of Human Marriage*, 3 vols.
3. *The Mothers*, 3 vols.
4. Eg. Dr. Gerrit S. Miller and Dr. Hamilton.

background of the total historical situation.¹ This is from the functionalists' view point. On the other hand the theory of cultural compulsives as explaining in part the prevalent attitude in the social sciences has been proposed by C. F. Calverton,² and the ethos of culture or the 'social milieu' as a convenient apparatus for understanding particular social traits has found favour with a group of anthropologists of the Boas-Benedict school.³ Here is, I find, the meeting ground for historical materialism and modern anthropology. If it can be sufficiently established, as I think it can, that cultural compulsives or ethos of culture are in themselves moulded by social relations of production, much of the gap can thus be bridged. I am not oblivious of the fact that these writers (viz. Boas and others) have been variously criticised for their 'non-theoretical' approach⁴ and that Marx himself denounced historians who tried to interpret social realities in terms of 'social attitudes and their verbalisations (ideologies or, as Pareto would have said, derivations)', which later on took a more concrete shape in Sociology of Knowledge at the hands of Max Scheler and Karl Mannheim. But 'if ideas or values were not for him the prime movers of the social process, neither were they mere smoke'. 'Marx did not hold that religion, metaphysics, schools of art, ethical ideas and political volitions were either reducible to economic motives of no importance. He only tried to unveil the economic conditions which rise and fall'⁵. I do not know how far the Marxists in general will agree with this. While there may be a disinclination to accept any but a rigidly economic interpretation by orthodox Marxists, the more progressive among them will certainly be agreeable to the view that Marx never meant economic motives to be the sole determinants of social realities. If I have been able to understand Marx, and I find support from some Marxists, what he meant was that social relations of production set the stage for social institutions to take shape and there can be innumerable varieties of forms that these institutions can assume. Marx for example did not contest the role of the individual in helping to crystallise such social attitudes or precipitate their

1. B. Malinowski, *The Dynamics of Culture Change*.

2. *The Making of Man*, Modern Library Series, Introduction.

3. See Ruth Benedict, *How Natives Think?*, George Allen and Unwin; also her *Patterns of Culture*.

4. Leslie A. White, loc. cit.

5. Joseph Schumpeter, op. cit., pp. 10-11. It may be noted that *prima facie* this argument runs counter to that given by Friedrich Engels in his *Anti Duhring*. But Schumpeter would hold, as already noted, that Engels perhaps did not correctly interpret Marx.

doom, and in this way he differs from the absolutely positivistic approach of Hegel.¹ Nor does the history of the last fifty years, which capitalism is taking numerous shapes in under-developed countries and is frantically trying to save itself from the impending collapse, warrant us to accept an oversimplified, abbreviated statement about the future course of events. What we can believe, in consistence with Marx, is therefore, the view that the possible developments will be in a circle conditioned by the economic circumstances, that the logic of history will come to assert itself, though at a later period, in the case of extensions of deviations (Cf. Imperialism or even Communalism), and that the future course will be as visualised in *synthesis with the new developments* that may in the interim period be brought about. This, I believe, is the truly dynamic theory of culture change or social progress, whatever we may call it, and the introduction of this much of flexibility in our approach may bring us nearer the rapprochement between historical materialism and social sciences. However, the link between social relations of production and total pattern or ethos of culture, the *method* by which it is brought about, and the possible deviations from accepted norm, in the light of material available at present, will have to be rather more clearly established.

1. For further discussion, please see G. V. Plekhanov, *The Role of the Individual in History*.

TEN ASSUMPTIONS FOR CULTURE RESEARCH AT JUBBULPORE

HENRY. H. PRESLER

The Department of Organized Research at Leonard Theological College began its activities on July 11, 1949, by reviewing its initial assumptions (which are subject to change).

The Source of Information

1. It was assumed that our research would be "scientific research." ¹ Science relies upon one way of knowing : sense perception (empiricism). Why do we limit our research effort to the way of science? The first answer is that very constructive and illuminating contributions to religious knowledge are accumulating through the research of social scientists. The second answer is that science has this unique feature: Two or more scientists working on the same problem with the same factors and conditions, and using the same methods, will come out with the same correlations. We chose "scientific" research because it is capable of erecting a structure of knowledge *within* which agreement is possible. The third answer is that scientific research discovers the kind of knowledge that enables men to control, to some extent, their social environment.

An Independent Discipline

2. It was further assumed that scientific research is a recognized, independent discipline, with an established body of theory, procedure, method and technique. For students registering with this Department there are required courses and an internship.

Tentative Beginning

3. It was assumed that we do not yet know which of the established theories, procedures, methods and techniques may be useful in Jubbulpore, M. P., India. It was not known which ones could be employed by Christians working among Christians, or, among non-Christians; which by foreign Whites, and which by Indians; or which would be relevant to available data. It was recalled that concepts, categories and methods have depended upon the materials studied. Each time social scientists have reached a new terrain, they have had to forge a new or modified methodology. Departmental endeavors may be for some time to come, determined and hopeful gropings. How to conduct research in Jubbulpore is itself a problem for research.

1. See note at end of this article.

Cooperative Drudgery

4. It was further recognized that discoveries through research are not based on the exertions of one institution, or even of one generation. The size of the research field makes cooperation of many qualified persons necessary. Another reason for joint endeavour is that scarcely any individual has a specialist's command of more than one field.

Three Types of Social Investigation

5. Turning to the chosen field of culture research, our next assumption was that only one kind of investigation fulfills all the requirements of scientific research, namely, the one yielding significant correlations between recurring social variables. To explain this point requires the next several hundred words.

In India, a large number of individuals and some institutions have already contributed to social research. Their efforts have resulted in many descriptive, some definitive, and a very few correlation studies.

Description: These profess to mirror a social phenomenon. Their purpose is to give full and accurate information. A factual is the end sought. By far the majority of social monographs are descriptions. These are based on questionnaires, interviews, investigations, surveys, case studies, statistical analyses, life histories, reports, maps, documents, scales, digests, etc. Fortunately for social science in India many such essays on social phenomena are appearing: perhaps an account of an individual's development, or the opinions of a group of students, or the ways of an aboriginal tribe. These descriptions, when accurate and adequate, are indispensable to scientific research. Moreover, a single case, known to be typical, may reveal a general law.

But description is incomplete as far as science is concerned. *The function of science is not to describe, but to predict.* The genesis of science is not in describing the life cycle of a disease germ, nor in describing the colour, weight and composition of a certain chemical, but in predicting the inevitable death of the parasite in the presence of the chemical. The genius of psychology is not in describing the symptoms and behavior of mild melancholia, nor in describing basket weaving, but in predicting, on the basis of empirically derived evidence, therapeutics when the two are related. Of most descriptions of social phenomena, the research scientist may ask, what are the other factors whose correlation with the described factors in change, would enable one to predict? To this question the descriptive study has no answer.

Moreover, what is evidence of a description's accuracy? Two honest investigators, describing the same society, rarely come out at the same place. Even two motion picture film of the same riot yield variant data, because the two cameras did not rest in the same spot at the same time. We really cannot know whether a description is accurate unless it provides data upon which later correlations make verifiable prediction possible. Ptolemy and Copernicus looked at the same heavenly bodies and gave different descriptions, but the latter was proven correct by its predictions.

Further, descriptions of social phenomena often serve a reformatory instead of a scientific purpose. On the basis of "startling revelations" of "hitherto unknown facts," the administrators purge their personnel, shake up their organizations, and change their policies. This may be good administration, but it does not fulfill scientific research. Science is not based upon interpretations of the facts, but on correlations between two or more recurring variables.

We conclude that descriptions of social phenomena, while essential, do not fulfill all the requirements of scientific research.

Definitive Studies: Such studies (of which there are too few) discover in the heterogeneous mass of complex data the elemental forms. Thus, chemistry does not consider "whiteness" and "dryness" to be the elements of table salt; the elements are sodium and chloride. Chemically, these elements cannot be further reduced, so that in discovering them chemistry got hold of the very nature of salt. All further understanding of salt was based on these two elements.

In social research, the *Linguistic Survey of India* got hold of the elemental dialects, and defined the areas and populations for each. In defining these elements, the famous survey grounded future culture studies. The *Census of India* early sifted the thousands of social groups down to the elements of sub-castes, then defined them. Less could have been accomplished in Indian culture studies without these definitions. A Harvard anthropologist has made a notable attempt to find the elements beneath such labels as "primitive," "barbarous," "civilized." Professor Coon finds the elements to be degrees of complexity in social relationships, expressed quantitatively. His elements allow a systematization of what was a matter of dispute.

This striving after what is fundamental, this willingness to sift over and over again a huge mass of data until the purest material only remains, constitutes the definitive study, indispensable to

scientific research. Such studies are greatly needed and sadly lacking to the sociology of religion in India. We know in the main only surface appearances. We don't know the elemental types of Christian converts except on the fuzzy basis of commonsense. There are thousands of Hindu temples, but who has demonstrated what are the elemental types? If we knew the elements, we could study the behaviours of an adequate sample of them, and arrive at some useful generalizations. We could recognize in combinations of elements the fundamental data. Those interested in social research could take a hint from the writer of a famous definitive study, the *Bhagavad Gita*. That Hindu had the wit to state that the elemental ways of salvation are by *gyan*, *karm* and *bhakti*. So useful seem his elements that research workers have not yet bothered to verify them. In summary, the definitive social study is built upon descriptive studies and makes sampling techniques practicable.

Correlation Studies: These discover relations between social factors measure the recurring changes in one set of factors that invariably follow recurring changes in related factors, and define and measure the conditions. In other words, such studies formulate the natural laws of human relations, which laws make prediction possible. Foreseeing the end of a chain of social reactions, one can decide whether to start the reactions or not. This is social control.

The correlation study fulfills the requirements of scientific research. There is as yet in India—or anywhere else for that matter—very little such. There are important reasons why correlations in the social sciences are, as yet, scarce. One reason is that sociology and anthropology are young; not enough descriptive and definitive data have been accumulated.

Another reason is that controlled experiments are impossible; a social scientist cannot put the population of a town in a test tube, control all conditions, eliminating all but certain factors and forces. Another reason is that humans, individually and as groups, have wills of their own, which make them uncertain data; we may be able to predict what a statistical average in a population will do, but not what a particular individual in that population will do; whereas the physicist can confidently predict that every uncharged iron filing will move toward a magnet. Still another reason for the paucity of correlations in the social sciences is the multiplicity of factors involved. Social phenomena are functions of such an intricate web of reciprocal influences from direct actions and reflected reactions, that social

scientists have not succeeded in accounting for all the forces. Social science is confounded by multiple causation. Its difficult task is to correlate the existence of simultaneous and paralld effects and counter-effects produced by many causes; whereas, the science of medicine, having shown that a particular fever is caused by only one species of bacteria has a much simpler task.

Although social research has not yet discovered many correlations, some notable ones have been verified. In urban ecology, for instance, the amount of suicide, insanity, disease, poverty and crime has been correlated with the distance from the center of the American metropolis. In India, social planning bodies have been able to control populations to some extent by manipulating a multiplicity of factors. Perhaps the most notable correlations have been discovered in mass psychology, as advertizing firms demonstrate the correlations between propaganda and sales. Governments have long understood the correlations between graduated income taxes and the birth rate. Yet, even these illustrations are faulty in that a tax, for instance, is not a living phenomenon. A pioneer study dealing almost entirely with human factors is F.W. Burggess's *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*. Even the correlations in the social studies are as yet few, they do exist and must be sought.

The further ramifications of correlation studies are many; we shall mention only two. First, one must realize that, theoretically there is some correlation between any two or more factors in a given society, because a society is one functioning whole. There is, for instance, some correlation between a bicycle shop and a post office, or between a temple and a political procession. But the correlations are not significant; they may be so slight that no predictions could be aduced. Whereas, the correlation between a given culture and a given religion is so high that one can predict. We are to search for significant or high correlations between social phenomena, such as permit prediction. The second ramification noted here is the importance of very low correlations. The pointing out of the latter promotes negative predictions. For instance, we have long known that there is an extremely low correlation between the number of Christian missionaries working in a Moslem city and the number of converts. It is equally important to social control to discover very low correlations.

In summary, of the three types.....descriptive, definitive, and correlation studies.....only the last fulfills all the requirements of research in the social sciences. The last is built upon the first two;

the second is built upon the first. A descriptive study makes one aware of a social entity; a definitive study enables one to analyze it; a correlation study permits one to understand and control it. *For an indefinite period, the Department of Organized Research will probably be occupied with the first two types; it may never reach the third, but the third is its goal.*

A Limited Area

6. The sixth assumption was that our investigations would be confined, in the main, to the city of Jubbulpore. We wanted to study that which we could frequently see, hear, smell, touch. The city is to be studied as a functioning unit, as a structuralized ensemble, as a meaningful whole. Eventually we hope to have a more or less total picture. Each group within the city may be structurally closed but it is functionally connected to every other group. The urban religious institution cannot be comprehended until its city is comprehended.

Limited Data

7. Again, it was taken for granted that the problem which the Department might study would be those for which sufficient data occur in Jubbulpore. Fortunately, this large city contains data bearing on some intricate problem, viz, the human relations in connection with industry, military, rural-urban changes, and the cultures of the Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Moslems and Christians. Jubbulpore's institutional resources are well-developed, especially as regards religious, industrial and educational associations. The city is dynamic, rapidly-growing, expansive, overflowing its boundaries. Its dominant pattern is that of conservative, orthodox Hinduism. This locale affords more than enough culture problems.

Fragmentary Studies

8. It was assumed that the correct approach should be through fragmentary studies, and severely restricted field investigations, such as permit, by their very limitations, thoroughness, depth and certainty. Such fragments, when pieced together over the years, provide empirical, systematic, coherent data. Large units of time and space do not conduce to the minute investigations necessary to building a body of scientific knowledge. The small, laborious, painstaking, essential task is the path of scientific virtue. Each such fragmentary study should be of the common, not of the unique phenomenon,

The Intregation of Fragmentay Studies

9. It was assumed that a department of organized research, focussing on the social, must adopt a long-term program of investigation in its own environment. This is because only a total picture of a structuralized ensemble, pieced together from fragmentary studies like a jig-saw puzzle, emerging after years of endeavor on the part of many cooperating workers, yields the explanatory knowledge desired in social research. Hence our assumption that our workers will choose a problem for which empirical data are locally available. The student registered in this department may select any problem he likes provided it has a local illustration. Thus, a church history major would produce a history of a local church. An Indian Philosophy major might write on monism, provided he could find a local *math* representing this viewpoint, which *math* becomes the focus of his writing. If a department of social research scatters its energies from Assam to Afghanistan, it acquires fragments of information that defy integration. Hence the name, Department of Organized Research: each investigation must be capable of fitting into an organized body of information about an organized social entity, our city. When the essential parts of the organized picture are in place, some alert students or professors with insight may perceive functional relations between those parts, and test for them.

Two Frames of Reference

10. It was assumed that data gathered would be set in two frames of reference, the culture frame and the religious frame. By culture frame, we do not mean the museum-like collection of customs, art forms, artifacts, magical beliefs, and ancient ways, even though such collections are essential; instead, we mean the integral but changing components of present and active community life. Culture, as we view it, is the pattern of functioning relationships between a particular group of humans.

By the religious frame of reference, is meant orienting all data towards this question: Why does religion in Jubbulpore so behave? A social service agency might orient data on Jubbulpore's industries towards a question of labour-management arrangements. But we would take the same data and direct it towards an analysis and explanation of the factory worker's religious activities.

Interpretations

1. Our final assumption was that it is not the business of social research workers to tell what their findings may mean. As social

scientists we must leave to the administrators and theologians the question of interpretation.

A Statement Concerning Scientific Research detailed in the following note.

"To see what is general in what is particular, and what is permanent in what is transitory is the aim of scientific thought . . . The possibility of disentangling the most complex evanescent circumstances into various examples of permanent laws is the controlling idea of modern thought." A.N. Whitehead. *An Introduction to Mathematics*, New York, 1921 pp. 11-13, H. Holt.

Research is the practice of seeking out relationships of functional dependence between two or more variables, using scientific techniques systematically. These techniques include the following:

Collecting empirically derived data.

Measuring such data by standard scales. In the case of human relations, measurement (will be in quantitative units of frequency, time, distance, activity) or in structural units of pattern; or in typological units arranged on a continuum. The units of measurement for the relations of people are rarely used by the people being studied, and must be worked out by the researcher, in terms of standard measurements.

Organizing research procedures through the following stages: the selection and definition of a workable problem, the preliminary exploration, the formulation of an hypothesis, the exhaustive pursuit of data using methods normal to the social sciences (the historical, statistical case study, ecological, participant observer methods, etc. etc.), the sorting of data into natural categories, the testing of the hypothesis, the positive or negative generalization.

Habitually studying all phases of the problem objectively, and, as far as possible, dispassionately. Although the researcher cannot erase past mental experiences from his present thinking, he can try to discipline his prejudices and sentiments, subordinating them to the quest for correct description and generalization.

Abstracting the generalities from particular elements so as to show the dependence of one happening upon another.

Ascertaining the presence or absence of a functional relationship between one variable and another, and, when a functional relationship is discovered, measuring the degree to which a change in one corresponds with a change in another. In the social sciences it

rarely, if ever, happens that only two variables are involved; almost always more than two, and normally many, operate within the configuration.

Stating the aforementioned functional relationship in quantitative terms: In the social sciences and religion, a functional relationship may be illuminated by typologies, structural patterns, case materials, photography, and so on. Quantitative formulae alone may not afford understanding, or guarantee reliability, quantification is the *sine qua non*.

A problem involving scientific research is considered solved only when explicit relationships of functional dependence between two or more variables make dependable prediction possible.

GLIMPSES INTO PRIMITIVE CULTURE OF INDIA

A. M. SOMASUNDARAM

A study of aboriginal cultures and values of life is of great sociological significance. The various culture patterns of tribal people give a cohesion and a meaning to the life of the primitive strata of society. The distinctions and proclivities exhibited by the hill-folks in their manifold behaviours are mostly credited to the influence of their typical physical surroundings,—the flora, the fauna, the natural potentialities, the resources of food supply and various other forces. Recent contacts with civilisation, indeed, have brought many changes in several aspects of tribal life, but these innovations could not completely root out the essentials and values of primitive existence. Therefore, even today most of the aboriginals still struggle for maintaining their levels of culture. It is generally held that the aboriginals were the earliest settlers of the country and that these men alone built up the country's history in the remotest period. They cleared the forests, and wrested the land from the depredations of the tiger and the fangs of the snake. They were reputed bow-men and adepts in the use of the arrow and the spear. Despite the internal feuds that broke out occasionally among them, they lived peacefully, unmolested for a long time till they were overcome by the mightier races. They had their own codes of law, rights, customs, festivals, strata, economy, gods and religion.

Tribal Land

The tracts they inhabit are full of many an object of attraction. They are picturesque with "lofty green hills and darting waterfalls rushing along the sloping precipices and table lands, the gaping ravines and meandering hill streams, lofty beds of rock and thick jungles" Such a countryside has probably constituted the basis for the high degree of romance that the aborigines reveal in their external behaviour, in their joys and songs. The tribal areas of Orissa, Bastar, and Andhra Desh, for instance, are fully endowed with natural objects of beauty, and picturesqueness of scenery. These regions contain beautiful 'podu' land for cultivation and the slopes of the hills are strewn with beds of blossoms of various kind. Probably one with aesthetic sense would never fail to get completely immersed

for hours in gazing at these unparalleled objects, the gifts of Nature, enjoying the sweet scent emanating from the blossoms of the nearby forest and would perhaps be tempted to spend most of his years in the midst of these jungles and on the slopes of these hills. Such scenery of the habitat made the hillmen a charming people while the inaccessibility of the tracts enabled them to maintain for long their customs and habits more or less unimpaired.

Classes of Aborigines

Nevertheless, the very inaccessibility of these beautiful areas which restricted the free inflow of other cultures turned the primitive groups in course of time into ignorant and superstitious people and such an isolation led also to the stunted growth of their mental life. However, the consolidation of the British rule in the country, the adventures of the industrialist, the greed of the ambitious money lender and the merchant, the zeal of the missionary and above all the expansion of civilisation stormed the traditional peace and melody of tribal life. These forces accelerated the inevitable racial miscegenation, cultural assimilation and adaptation and led mostly to economic rivalries and conflicts. Based on such contacts, Dr. Verrier Elwin classified the present-day aboriginal population of the country into four groups (cf: **Aborigines**). Dr. Majumdar (cf: **Matrix of Indian Culture**, p. 131) has divided the tribes into three groups, from the point of view of contacts with civilisation. The first group comprises of the primitive tribes, outside the pale of Hindu society; the second class is a made up of the tribes who have shown a degree of association with the Hindu castes; the last group consists of tribes that are Hinduised.

According to Dr. Elwin the first class of aborigines who number not more than five million souls are the 'real primitives' living in hills and forests. Their culture-contacts with civilised environment has not yet brought any notable innovations in the social life of this small block. Next to them come the primitives who also dwell in hills and forests, but these have begun to change in 'many small and subtle ways'. The distinction between the two is negligible and the economic fabric of these two classes of people reveals a corporate and largely communal life. Most of their economic activities are characteristic of collective strivings and mutual sharings. The axe cultivation (shifting or *odu*) for them is not only a means of economic subsistence but is in itself a way of life and a pattern of culture. Another group of aborigines, a very

small section indeed, has won the battle of culture contact by assimilating all the good traits of civilisation, probably with no damage to their own tribal ways of life. This class comprises of the 'tribal chieftains, Gond Rajas, the big land lords, noble men, wealthy leaders and few highly cultured tribesmen'. Elwin writes, "These retain the old tribal names and their clan and totemed rules and observe elements of tribal religion, though they generally adopt the full Hindu faith and live in modern and even in European style". This class also is composed of aboriginals who, to quote Elwin "by their own energy and enterprise, have improved their economic position and their local standing". With these members a favourable environment—'aristocratic tradition, economic stability or affluence, outside encouragement, a certain arrogance and self confidence—have worked successfully to assimilate the blessings of civilisation 'without injury to themselves'.

But the last group of aboriginals, the bulk of tribal population totalling a twenty million miserable victims of civilisation, has begun to lose its hold on tribal culture, religion and social organisation hard-pressed by the influence of external contacts. The tale of these teeming millions is anything but happy. 'Their awful life conditions, illiteracy, ignorance of the most elementary laws of nature and inability to make use of the opportunities, witchcraft and superstition etc.,—have made them obsequious, timid and servile'. Defective policies of administration and the advent of civilisation have turned this vast bulk into the most economically exploited, socially degraded and morally degenerated units of rural society. These forces have also affected the very foundation of social life on which alone the once powerful and independent tribal organisation was built up. Most tragically 'they have lost (or losing) their language, their culture, their songs, their dancing and their laughter'.

Tribal Organisation

The cultural levels of the primitive tribes, as well as their needs determine the kind of their political organisation. For instance the semi-nomadic Chenchu fulfils his obligations under the aegis of his own tribal Panchayat, the leader of which is not invested with unlimited powers while his neighbour Lambadi is strongly inclined towards an almost dictatorial leadership that would exert commendable discipline from the members of the tribe. Similarly, some tribes of Koraput Agency in Orissa that are more democratic in outlook

have provided for flexibility of rules of behaviour and accordingly leadership in such tribes has to maintain an attitude that generally appeals to the group members. The vagrant and nomadic sections of aboriginal population build up their organisation in conformity with their material needs. Therefore tribal leaders, to quote Dr. Majumdar (cf., *Races and Cultures of India*) "are not those who possess property or wealth; they are often without them. They are expected to lead their people out of harm's way, to warn them of impending trouble or calamity, to direct them to new means of control of food supply" and 'to organise methods of exploiting the resources of the habitat'. Thus tribal organisation and leadership are formed out of the peculiar considerations of physical environment, social patterns and psychological attitudes.

Among the primitive tribes leadership is both hereditary and elective. Where it is hereditary the leader enjoys wider powers and privileges. For instance the 'Kuntkottidar' families among the Munda-tribes of Bihar represent the hereditary type. Some times such leadership is associated with divine significance and in such groups the leader assumes the responsibilities of the priest as well.¹ "He is the supreme administrator and the chief judge and possesses supervisory powers over the sectional heads in a group. Often times he will be the presiding officer over all collective activities and social festivities. He has to meet out impartial justice and share the sorrows and pleasures of his group-folk". He is generally invested with powers to expel any member that breaks the recognised rules of the social code and to inflict severe forms of punishment for offences connected with moral turpitude. In spite of these multiple responsibilities with corresponding powers the leader cannot afford to act as an autocrat or a dictator, while any abuse of power or excess of conduct will hardly be tolerated by the electors. In unsophisticated tribal groups leadership cannot be bought by wealth inasmuch as such a position depends upon the candidate's ability to exercise control over the members, his initiative to foretell the wrath of the tribal gods, his shrewdness to grasp things abruptly, his ability to prepare his clansmen either for offensive or for defensive purposes and finally his readiness to respond to the psychological attitudes of his clansmen and for the fulfilment of the material, religious, moral and social needs of his community. For the

1. A. M. Somasundaram: *A Peep into Primitive Life in India Human Affairs Part II* 1946.

services he renders, he is often times rewarded in kind and the tribal Panchayat accords him special privileges of various kinds. Generally the office of the tribal leader does not make any provision for regular specific payments, but in many tribes at collective ceremonies, the headman is presented with a pair of cloths, a fowl and sometimes a specific part of the meat of the hunted animal. When he is invited to decide cases of marital lapses or any dispute arising out of distribution of land or property or any litigation thereof, the leader is paid a few coins, liquor and a part of the fine inflicted upon the offender.

The tribal Panchayat decides the cases of breaches of custom, law, morality and economic magic. The aboriginal is guided in his outdoor conduct by tradition and social etiquette. His behaviour is moulded by sentiment, belief, custom and superstition rather than by reason or advocacy. His belief in supernatural beings, his faith in divination and his confidence in the leadership account for the good working of the tribal code. Morality is associated with divine wrath and trespass is apprehended with a belief in the total ruin of the family, mortal injury or any other serious loss. Therefore, moral lapses are treated as acts against divinity. Similarly offences that deal with ownership, tenancy, group behaviour and the like are dealt with equal severity; lest dereliction on the part of the Panchayat in their discharge of obligations, should cause untold misery and distress to the entire community. Hence the system of infliction of physical punishment, of fine, of social boycott and of expulsion from the tribe are the methods whereby evil and immoral conducts are taken cognizance of, and attempts are made to remedy these anomalies. It is on the same ground, the tribal Panchayat acts as the main political institution of the tribal society. Panchayat and leadership are the pivot of tribal culture. The working of the Panchayat is simple and efficient enough to suit the peculiar psychological levels of aboriginals. It is the main political organisation, the mouthpiece of material aspirations, and the champion of civil rights in the primitive society. The sanction for its successful working cannot be traced to the documentary records in the corners of legislative secretariat, but it seeks unlimited but welcome and almost unavoidable powers and responsibilities from the approval of the village folk coupled with their admiration and unshaking confidence in their trusted headmen. Modern societies have governments that require law courts and police staff at enormous expen-

diture, to keep law and order, to suppress violence and opposition and to strengthen the big body of power-politics. Cannons of public finance are recognised and mutuality of obligations maintain the social order. The more the culture contacts, the less the heed the aboriginals pay to their heritage of spiritual, moral and social obligations and thus alone notions of private property and individual ownership enter into their economy.

The tribal substratum of India still follows a sort of traditional economy, though in an emasculated form. The guiding principles of their economy,—mutuality, cooperation, and communal well-being, are still found in their dealings. Writers of note have held that the spirit of cooperation characterises primitive communities and that 'income is never prized for aggrandizement' but is reckoned as a necessary medium 'to effect an equitable adjustment between the material and spiritual values of the community.' It is also never amassed for the sake of profit and never utilised for purposes of exploitation. Tribal economy reveals an adjustment of group needs with nature's potentialities and therefore attempts are made to reach such an adjustment due regard being paid to the size of the 'population, its material needs, the availability of resources and the degree of skill.' Production is mostly realised as the fruit of relentless communal labour, with a system of distribution worked out on equitable collective basis. The problem of food supply which is generally treated as a collective responsibility has given rise to planned system of production and distribution. The economic organisation of tribal societies is not only a mere simple response to their material requirements but it also reveals a socialised response to various obligations on the part of the primitives.

Since barter is extensively in vogue in primitive communities the aboriginal groups usually fulfil their undertakings based on the ideas of mutuality of obligations, resulting in a net work of cooperation. But cooperation is not without reciprocity, even though it does not necessarily involve the return of the same thing borrowed or lent in economic transactions.

Primitive men, of course, do possess a set of ideas about property. Morgan Rivers and others have held that they have no conception of private property and that they treat wealth as group ownership. These writers hold that in the earliest primitive societies communistic holding of property was the main economic basis. Though this argument is not without ground in the earliest

stages, primitives did to some extent recognise rights of private ownership. Thus it can be assumed that both private property and communal ownership existed side by side. Property in aboriginal India is of three types, communal, family and personal. Hunting grounds, granaries, groves, temples, altars, dormitories, dancing grounds, pasture lands, all these are held communally, while agricultural implements, dancing garments, huts, holdings of land, cattle, slaves (where slavery is in vogue) come under family or joint property. Fruit trees, *mahua*, *salap* trees, dress, ornaments etc. are owned by individuals.

In various tribal areas in the south of India primitive agriculture is carried on under two systems—the Podu or shifting cultivation and the terrace. Podu is practised by many tribes of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, C. P., Madras and Hyderabad. It is known by different names such as Bewar, Jhum, Konda, Dongar etc. The Khond, the Koya, the Hill Reddi, the Kolam, the Naikopad, the Gond and few Savaras—practise it in Madras and Hyderabad. Shrubs and trees on the slopes of the hills are felled with axe and are burnt, the ashes being used as manure. The seeds are broad-cast, dances are held and sacrifices of animals, fowls and pigs complete the ritual.

Millet, Jawari, Olasi, pulses, oil seeds and groundnut are raised by podu. Podu pieces need weeding only once but in the second and the third year the prolific growth of weeds must be eradicated twice. After three or four years the tract becomes useless for cultivation and therefore is abandoned until the trees again grow there to admit a second felling. The terrace cultivation involves a method whereby the waters of hill streams are controlled by making a change in their course and thus are utilised to raise crops like paddy. Tribes like the Gadaba, the Parja, the Savara in Orissa and Madras provinces practise it. Fifteen to twenty beds of land are dug one below the other in a terraced fashion into which the controlled water is allowed to flow. After these plots are filled with water the course of the flow is again changed and the pieces are allowed to become marshy. These are then tilled and paddy beds are grown.

Tribal Economy

The institution of tribal economy is signally distinctive. 'Institutions', in the words of Dr. R. R. Marret (cf. *Anthropology*) "express the externals of the life of man in society so far as they reflect intelligence and purpose". Primitive economy not only illustrates the stages of progress achieved by man in the evolution from savagery to civilisation, but as an institution is expressive of

the strivings of the aborigines towards the realisation of the values of collectivism and cooperation. Primitive culture for centuries has recognised the complexity of economic existence as the tribal groups with their marginal cultures follow more than one occupation. Notwithstanding the absence of provision for specialization of functions in their economy and despite the multiplicity of economic pursuits the aborigines have their own clear cut rules and systems of economy.

Dr. R. W. Firth (**Human Types**) writes that the primitive communities have comparatively a simple material equipment which has not been integrated into an industrial organisation; 'these are frequently small in size and they lack any system of wide inter-communication with each other.' Such an economic pattern may not be found extensively among the tribal groups today since in this world of changing cultures, the primitive life too has begun to change. Such a change is of course inevitable as every tide of civilisation and culture contact show them changed ways of life as well as many significant innovations. Some changes have left profound impression upon the economic patterns of several tribes of India like the Lambadis, the Erikulas, the Mundas, the Parjas, the Doms etc. Prior to the introduction of money economy mutual exchange of goods to meet the requirements of any two neighbouring groups was the basic principle that alone guided the tribal economic transactions. It is a barter organisation, and also an institution in which are found, according to Dr. Firth, 'family ties, wider obligations to kinsfolk and to neighbours, loyalty to chiefs and elders, respect for clan taboos and beliefs in control of food and other things by spirits, ancestors and gods'.

Indeed an economy embracing these multiple obligations both material and spiritual, was best suited to the tribes that followed the life ways of hunters and food collectors, who with simple needs did not covet largescale undertakings. The same holds true also of the hunters of the forest with nomadic behaviour who do not require the modern economy, which they consider superfluous. However, 'the needs of food quest may make association,' writes Majumdar (**Races and Cultures of India**), 'of a few families conducive to economic life and group solidarity'.

These are the basic features of tribal economy. Cooperation is its structural basis. Each village will have a common club and dormitory. Primitive archaeology consists of unrecorded material

relating to the construction of small thatched huts with mud walls exhibiting crude but simple architecture round a common square. The hill men pay equal rates of tax and protect their group from the disasters of a famine by storing corn in village granaries. Dr. Elwin aptly sums up the essentials of primitive economy as follows: "In the spirit of economic fellowship some primitive villages are a hundred years ahead of modern world. The communal life of the wilder people in which almost everything is shared and in which the joy or sorrow of one is the joy and sorrow of the whole community is a beautiful thing to witness."

Primitive Society is divided into several mutually exclusive tribes each having its own pattern of life and activities. A tribe is a socio-economic unit with territorial jurisdiction. As Dr. Firth so well puts it "the social structure of primitive tribes includes the different groups which its people form and the institutions in which they take part." Each group or the tribe is divided into several exogamous and endogamous clans or sects and each of the sects is composed of a number of *gotras*, totemic or otherwise.

It should also be noted that primitive society comprehends a code or definite principles of stratification based on age, sex, locality and occupation. Waves of migration consequent upon economic pressure result in the split up of the tribe into a number of segments. Such a step inevitably brings changes in the external behaviour of the tribesmen concerned. Several Naga tribes, the aboriginals of Munda group, the pre-Dravidian stocks of the South, and the nomadic tribes of the North, have had undergone significant changes in many aspects of their life. For instance, the Lambadis though a widely scattered tribe with common ancestry and culture, on account of the ecological and social environments in their different habitats, have affected significant innovations in their cultural life. Dr. Ehrenfels (*Mother Right in India*) thinks that the Lambadis are possibly indicative of 'a not quite recent individualisation in cultural development'. But I should think that they have been changed a lot in recent times in their cultural outlook on account of their incessant contacts with the civilised Telugu-castes in Northern Circars and Telingana.

A tribe splits up into several families. A number of families make a *gotra* falling within a group of Gods as among the Gadabas and claiming a common origin. Several of these *gotras* are organised into a clan or sect, mostly endogamous, and the tribe is formed

out of these sects. Some of these clans are exogamous and marriage between two sects (even *gotras*) worshipping the same house of Gods is prohibited. As a rule, sect endogamy and *gotra* exogamy both are observed. However, where sects are endogamous, marriage between the two sects worshipping different groups of Gods is not allowed. Some of these clans have developed economic peculiarities, dietetic regulations and other social differences. The Erikulas² of Madras presidency are divided into several divisions organised after economic pursuits they formerly adopted. They are also an exogamous tribe. The Reddi Enadis³ and the Challa Enadis, the two sections of the Enadi tribe are so styled because of the different occupations they took up for livelihood. The Lambadis⁴ are found in six exogamous sects and the origin of each of these divisions can well be traced to the peculiarities in occupations, in diet and in religious practices they observe. In spite of these differences all the sections are allowed to mix up freely among themselves and each sect has its specific obligation to discharge for the social well-being of the tribe. These dietetic and occupational differences not only account for the complexity of stratification but these contribute to marital prohibitions and food and other taboos. In the Chenchu society⁵ these divisions are based on locality and difference in occupational pursuits. The Godabas⁶ of Koraput Agency are divided into six main sects and each of these is marked by dietetic regulations, superior economic pursuits, locality and status. In a word it may be said that tribes in India are divided into sects or clans based on territorial, occupational, religious and dietetic considerations.

Tribal Marriages

Among several aboriginal tribes of India marriage is a simple affair and implies the mutual decision of the couple to settle down as man and wife. It is as such neither a sacrament nor a life long bond between the couple. Married life under such system may lead to family frictions but primitive society has provided remedy

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2. Excellent material on the Erikulas is to be found in L.A.K. Iyer's 'Castes and Tribes of Mysore' and also in the recently published "Adivasula" by Nagabhushanachary., Executive officer, Mandapet, E. Godavari Dt.
 3. The 'Enadis'—P.C. Reddy, Gudur, Nellore Dt.
 4. The 'Lambadis'—A.M. Somasundaram.
 5. The 'Chenchus'—Christoph von Furer-Heimendorf.
 6. The 'Gadabas of Koraput'—A.M. Somasundaram.

against such anomalies of life through methods like divorce, widow marriage and secondary forms of marriages. Primitive groups realise the significance of mating as essential for fecundity. Both self maintenance and self preservation which are based on fundamental instincts have given rise to the origin of family and various forms of marriage.

'The development of organised patterns of social life and the realisation of ethical and social values achieved the present form of marriage'. It is thought to be the result of man's endeavour to secure superior social status by producing children of undisputed paternity since it was this undisputed mother-hood that alone gave a superior position to woman in earliest society. The evolution of property from mother-right to father-right also gave rise to the claim of descent from mother to father and led to the origin of monogamy. It is the best arrangement since it enables the couple to live in constant association and mutuality of ideas that accelerate the cementation of marital affinities.

Marriage in tribal India is of several types and is divided into monogamy, polygyny and polyandry. Polygamy, means the plurality of husbands or wives. Polygyny is the system whereby a man takes more than one wife and it is the commonest form of marriage among the primitive as well as the lower strata of society. Desire for variety of taste and ambition for economic status, lead to polygynous marriages in India. Dr. Majumdar (*Races and Cultures of India*) observes that "among the lower cultures in India polygyny is a very common institution. In some tribes the possession of a number of wives determines the social status of the person concerned" and 'various standards are insisted on by the tribes which allow such practice'. Polyandry or plurality of husbands as an institution is far more restricted in distribution than polygyny. It owes its origin primarily to the scarcity of women while it presupposes 'an artificially produced preponderance of the marriageable males'. The Khasas and the Koltas of U.P., the Nayars, the Todas and the Badagas of South India are some of the tribes that still observe polyandrous practices.

There are some traditionally established methods whereby mates are acquired. Marriage arranged by parents, by mutual consent, by purchase, by elopement, by capture and by service are some of the methods whereby marital relations are established. The necessary requisites of the girl that appeal to the youth are her attractive features, serviceability, fidelity, mild disposition, agility and talent

in music and dance. The young man by becoming adept in the use of bow and arrow and in marksmanship and with prowess and strength, by his ability to compose folklore extempore, and by his ready wit catches the eye of his sweet heart. Economic status in some cases particularly among the sections affected by culture-contacts influences the eligibility of marriage. Where the girl among the Munda tribes wields superior economic status the boy volunteers to serve his prospective father-in-law and continuous hard labour wins for him the hand of his coveted sweet heart. Under levirate a man's wife automatically becomes the wife of his brother after the latter's death. Tribes like the Lambadi, the Erikula, the Gadaba etc., practise levirate. Sororate is the system whereby the sisters of a wife automatically become the wives of the person concerned.

In tribal societies marriage is mostly adult and the ceremonial aspect differs from tribe to tribe. Marriage formalities are organised after environmental conditions and cultural levels. But in every tribe marriage involves a procedure,—propitiation of tribal gods, totemic objects and ancestral spirits, excessive drink, costly communal feasts, grand dances and payment of heavy bride-prices. Marriage rites are different among the nomadic tribes to those observed by the Agency-tribes. Marriage is both exogamous and endogamous, but generally speaking, family exogamy and clan endogamy form the basic principles of tribal marriages. Among the substantial sections in the tribes child marriages too are celebrated with a certain degree of pomp and festivities. In tribes like the Baigas, the Oraons, the Erikulas, the Binjhawar, considerations of distance and social practices determine the marriage rules. Perhaps these factors have led to the rules of rigid exogamy, even though marital necessities in many cases have obliged these groups to relax their rules. Sometimes on this account traditions also are broken. The bride-price or Kanyasulkam, is the commonest item of expenditure, without which and the drink no marriage may be performed at all. The bride-price is heavy compared to the economic conditions of the tribesmen. It is known by different names, Oli, Dhangeli, Tonka, Gonong, Chari, Tolla, Dahej etc., It may be paid in kind or coin or both may be demanded.

Tribal Religion

Primitive religion is composed of three elements—the worship of gods and spirits, the death rituals and the totemic ceremonies.

In every human society there appears to be a belief that the individual "does not cease to exist at the death of his body but that he has some continuity in immaterial form". In some societies it is held that the soul lives on and cannot be destroyed. Such a belief in the 'persistence of the soul after death has its culmination in the institution of ancestor worship. The primitives believe that the spirits of the dead, 'do not simply rest in some 'Elysium' but constantly watch with interest the 'doings of their descendants, tender them advice, and even 'revisit their people through some human or other medium'. Here is also a general belief that the spirits of men may take on the form of animal. Hence Dr. Firth has held (**Human Types**) that the concept of the relationship of the spiritual beings with the doings of men involves the idea of supernatural power. This idea has probably given rise to the notion of *mana* power. *Mana* signifies the effective power of an impersonal force.

Primitive religion, thus aims at the winning over the forces of supernatural world for his material prosperity. His implicit faith in the existence of deities and spirits forced him to adopt a complex code of appeasement, worship, and propitiation of the objects of supernatural world, and towards the end of the priestly class in the tribal societies resorts to divination, witchcraft, magic and sorcery. Majumdar (**The Matrix of Indian Culture**) writes that the primitive man in his religion is 'inspired by the idea of *mana*, *bonga*, *aren*, i. e. the concept of an impersonal force, indefinite, and indeterminate, yet all pervasive'. The same writer thinks that "this vague concept of power which has been shaped by the magician, the sorcerer, the priest and even the tribal chief to endow the qualities of animate and inanimate objects or spirits and godlings enter into material and immaterial objects of man's environment, provided the sanction of taboos, of customs, rules and restrictions, group mores and conduct".

Death among some tribes is treated as a stage 'in which the man's shadow departs from his body and becomes an ancestral god'. This has led to the funeral rituals, ancestor-worship and sacrifices. But fundamentally, tribal religious ideas evolved out of the belief in the transmigration of soul and in the hold of the dead ancestors over the life activities of the surviving members. The primitives personify the forces of nature, as these could not be conquered. They also believe in pulsation of the inanimate objects with life.

Above all, animism and totemism have become the important features of tribal religion.

Psychologists like Wundt, trace the origin of totemism to the belief of primitive man that 'worms crawling out of dead man's body are his soul'; Durkhiem considers the totemic object as the collective representation of the society. Some ascribe a psychological origin to totemism. According to some totemism arose out of two considerations—(1) belief of the savage in the transmigration of soul and (2) the realisation of the probable danger from wild beasts during hunting expeditions. The primitives thought that by incarnating their lives in any material object their bodies would be safe during hunt. Hence they associated themselves with supernatural beings and believed that they were safe. The inability of the savage to win over the forces of nature led to the appeasement of the latter, and this inability gradually resulted in the adoption of many totemic practices in religious ceremonies. This is true of several tribes of India. There are few writers indeed who account for the origin of totemism from the complexity of economic transactions and frequent barter exchanges. Despite these diverse opinions, all schools of totemism agree that totemism is an important social institution, and today it stands sybolic to the ancient ecological set up in the prehistoric past.

A word about tribal gods. 'Every tribe has its own conception of demonology the more advanced the tribe, more numerous are the spirits and godlings it propitiates'. Tribal gods to some extent, are exclusive to the tribesman. Their spirits also are of the same order. Mother Earth, Sun God, Mata,—are some of the members in the pantheon of tribal gods. Those processes of nature, that tell upon the existence of the tribals, are personified and venerated. Different spirits preside over different crises of life like fever, disease, measles, rheumatism, pox, hysteria, gout, death etc. Hence Majumdar writes that 'among the primitive tribes the power of spirits is greatly over-estimated and the faith of the people in witch-doctors is yet unshaken.' Culture contacts, as well as the failure of the tribal spirits to redress the grievances of the primitive folk, have compelled the tribal men to borrow some of the Hindu gods in their religious fold. Tribes like the Lambadi, Chenchu, Parja, Enadi, Erikula, Gadaba, Chero, Paniko etc., for instance, have added to their list of gods several deities of the Hindu order. The primitive man never hesitates to add a few more gods from the Hindu

pantheon, if only those would be of any use to him. This then is about the tribal religion.

Tribal Values of Life

Primitive society is characterised by archaic dignity and charm. Its members are noted for many a virtue. There are many elements in their life worth preserving. The respect for the dead, devotion to the soil, the power to stage colourful and magnificent dramas and festivals, the discipline of the members and the adhesion to tradition make the aboriginal life interesting and valuable.

The aboriginals are noted for several types of decoration, in which they exhibit an uncorrupted oriental beauty and style, while their artistic excellence is most magnificently revealed in their simple home styles and also in their cottage industries. They keep their small but well kept huts artistically beautiful decorating the walls and the floor with simple patterns—an art which is often lamentably found missing in modern architecture. The huts of the tribes of Bihar, of the Nagas of Assam, of Parja, Gadaba and Dom of Orissa, the dormitory of the Bondos, the Ghotul of the Gonds of Bastar, the milkhouse of the Badaga of the south, are all specimens that reveal a simple way of life of the crude dwellers of the jungle and the hill. The dancing arena, the collective granary, the dignified village fencing, the patters of burial sites, the ceremonial hunt and the simple home industries—all these bear undisputed testimony to the multiple aptitudes of the primitives and their craving for an unimpaired existence.

The primitives are an honest and simple folk. They live in nature and fade away in its mystery. They are contented people and are always averse to exploitation or profit making. They know how to recognise and respect things belonging to others and duplicity are unknown to them. In several activities of their life they reveal a corporate life. Games, festivities and religious celebrations are all communally participated. They drink, dance and sing all in congregation. Among them crime is rare, adultery is almost unknown and individual behaviour is marked by honesty and truthfulness. Ideally hospitable, exceptionally candid and remarkably simple in habits these primitives lead a simple but natural existence marked by mirth, song, dance and game.

Yet they have no plan for the morrow. Whatever is earned in the day is spent care-free by evening. They do not, unless influenced by agencies of civilisation, ponder about amassing for the progeny.

The hillman's food is simple, his tastes are genuine and his wants are of course few. His mind is generous and is always enriched by integrity of behaviour. Effusive by temperament he is courageous to express his point and his plainness attracts others for him.

The unspoiled aboriginal is noted for purity of his taste and the beauty of simple artistic creations produced from the available material. Elwin writes: "He is an expert in the art of personal ornamentation, in the decoration of his house, in the carving of masks, combs, snuff-boxes and in the use of cowries and beads".

Simple and happy, the aboriginal life is enriched by natural pleasures procured in a land of beauty and charm. To the primitives the forest is everything—"it is sandal, sweet and joy". They have their own simple division of house-hold duties, that are pleasant and never tiresome. They wake up in the early hours of morning, wash their bodies with cold water, drink their gruel and attend to their work. Women preoccupy themselves in domestic work. The aged get busy over mats and baskets. Men go to clear the 'Podu' on the hill, gather fruit, mango or tamarind. Some would collect honey, leaf, and fuel. The house-wife assists her husband in all his activities, of course, observing the established social, economic and religious taboos. Children graze the cattle or hunt field-mice or get engaged in small game. In the evening after meal they indulge in song, dance and game.

The daily routine of a typical aboriginal consists of a relentless toil in the field for rats or rabbits. The gruel is all that he takes for diet of course, a chilly and a bit of salt added to it. Occasionally he may procure meat or vegetable and enjoy its taste. His favourite Ragi or rice beer—his elixir,—is prepared in his home. The wild life of the Chenchu, the Bondo, the Koya and others aims at digging the earth for tubers or for trapping the rat, while sometimes angling may become his entire activity of the season. He is often lazy for many days and is always inclined to spend time in game or dance. His favourite pastime consists of his indefatigable search in the mountain crack or in the field hole for a small mouse or a rat.

The domestic life of a tribal house wife is marked by fidelity and virtue. The real primitives in this respect, 'stand as an object lesson to the whole world'. The woman's position in society is solid and honourable and she goes freely with honourable pride about the country side. She shares the joys and woes of her husband,

and her alacrity in house-hold duties, her sense of responsibility in the discharge of obligations, and her temperamental adaptability to the surroundings makes her the real happy companion of her lover, Hence remarks Elwin, "As a companion she is humorous and interesting, as a wife devoted; as a mother heroic in the service of her children. Her brave, laborious and faithful life is an inspiration".

Many tribes in India impart to their youth a sort of social training which is deemed indispensable for a disciplined and systematic life of young bachelors of both the sexes. In tribes where schools that impart a regular type of education are unknown, separate houses called dormitories (love houses) with matrons to look after the inmates are provided. These are called 'Dhangda' or 'Dhangdi' Ghar, Ghotul etc. Both boys and girls can freely mix with each other, understand each other, and such an intimate association develops mutual love between the couple leading to marriage. Dormitory is the best training centre for the youth to understand their problems of future career. Life in the dormitory is associated with many rules of conduct. It serves as the guest house where strangers are entertained, and also becomes a centre which fosters among its inmates a spirit of social responsibility and self help. In some villages dormitories are built separately for boys and girls. The Oraon, the Munda, the Naga, the Bondo Parja, the Dhruva, the Gadaba, the Gond,—all these tribes have dormitories in their villages.

Tribal Music and Dance

The hill tribes with their laws and morality and with codes of behaviour, culture and religion, live in purity, innocence and crystal-like simplicity. These very virtues of life are fully expressed in their folklore, song and dance. The tribal poetry is unrecorded but each generation transmits it to the progeny by practice and heresay. This unscripted poetry is greatly enriched by the ingenuity of thought and experience. Tribal poetry naturally therefore provides available material for field anthropologists to unearth the hidden meaning of aboriginal life. The folklore contains the 'songs of the celestial'. Songs are distinctive and are expressive of a harmonious combination of melody and rhythm. They consist of themes ripe with rich but simple experiences of an artistic life moulded in a charming and humane environment. These songs are marvellous as outbursts of human emotion. It is through songs, the aboriginal depicts the entire course of human

life from birth to death. 'The song', to quote Pandit Lakshmi Narayana Sahu, 'is a soothing balm to the hard life of the ab-origines'. These songs are further wafted away in the wind to distant places and produce a weird effect on the hearer', who 'forgets the little selfishness of the mundane world'. ((The Hill Tribes of Jeypore)

Tribal dances are picturesque. These are the exclusive prerogatives of tribal existence. Dances are performed on all festive occasions and at social gatherings. Dances provide the chance for the unmarried couple to understand each others talents and skill. It is expressive of tribal aspirations, a revelation of its psychological makeup, and a relief against the monotony of a changeless or uneventful forest life. The ceremonial propitiation of gods and totemic objects, the return from a successful communal hunt, the worship of ancestor spirits, the celebration of marriage, and important tribal decisions,—are all the occasions when the grand tribal dances are performed. Dance prescribes few rules of conduct and discipline, and the dance monitor exercises some rights over the members of the troupe, in order to keep the play in tact and rhythm. Adults, boys and girls in batches of fifties with characteristically colourful robes and ornaments, and with flowers decently and artistically tucked in the hair, join at evenings till late in the night to exhibit their skill in dance, practically allowing the occasion to magnify itself into a festive excursion. Thus the 'Holi' dance of the Banjara or the Lambadi, the 'Gol Gadhado' play of the Bhil, the 'Bison-horn' dance of the Koya Gond, the 'Densa' of the Parja, the 'Dung-dunga' of the Bondo and the Gadaba, and the magnificent shows of the Naga dance ritual, the heritage of tribal art, the essence of their gleeful life, and their pride for centuries,—are all the occasions when the passer-by or the visitor to tribal tracts is simply captivated by the alacrity, dexterity and rhythm of movement exhibited splendidly by these rustic participants in such performances of commendable simplicity, dignity and charm. Tribal dance is an art never unrivalled by and inimitable to the seemingly superior groups of mankind.

Such are the glimpses into the tribal life in India. For long these groups maintained in fact, their culture, civilisation, dance, mirth and game with no outside interference. Nevertheless the inevitable has appeared on the scene of the tribal land and forced these happy people to succumb to ghastly changes in life. The result is the total decline of their culture and annihilation of their existence.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

UP FROM THE APE, By *Earnest Albert Hooton*.

Published by the Macmillan Co. N. Y. pp XXI + 788, Price 5.25

The well-known author of this book has presented to his readers a very interesting and complete study of human evolution. The book is written in a very popular style and it is very creditable on the part of the author to present a scientific subject in such an interesting manner as he has done all through the book.

The author has dealt with man's position in the animal world. The description of the primates and their development from the lower animals gives the reader an idea of evolution. Anatomical evolution of various parts of the body enriches the book.

The author describes the individual life cycle of man and primates starting from the embryo. His comparative study of the growth of the individual and social life of man and apes is entertaining and instructive at the same time.

The description of the fossil primates and fossil men are complete and up-to-date.

The author gives us a new and revised racial classification of man and also racial history. He also deals with the fascinating and growing subjects of human genetics, comparative human physiology including the blood groups and also relation of physical characters with mentality and temperament.

The author has not forgotten to add by way of an appendix to his book a chapter on practical methods of anthropometry giving brief instruction on laboratory techniques of anthropology.

This is an indispensable book both for the layman and the specialist on the subject.

S. K. R. C.

INTRODUCTION TO EARLY ROMAN LAW, By C. W. Westrup Vols I, II and III. Dan, Cr 52 - Translated from the Danish by Miss. Annie. I. Fausboll. in collaboration with the author Einar Munksgaard, Norregade 6, Copenhagen and Oxford University Press.

The work under review deals with various aspects of the patriarchal joint family. In the first volume we have many interesting topics viz. marriage, ancestor worship, community of cult, the unmarried state, life partnership, polygyny, fidelity, kinship, matriarchy and expro-

sure of infants. The second volume contains an elaborate discussion on the undivided joint family with special reference to family property, rights of heirs and other allied topics. The third volume deals with origins of law; the fundamental notions and principles of the patriarchal joint family, primitive notions of succession, development of *pairia potestas* and family property.

The learned author describes his work as comparative sociological studies. The methods and the topics are not new. The comparative method, made popular by Sir Henry Maine, has no doubt been followed by many in studying early institutions, but the work under review excels in its wealth of details and lucidity of treatment. Although an emphasis has been laid on the origins and development of the Roman institutions, we have in this work glimpses of similar institutions among other Aryan speaking peoples like the ancient Indians, Iranians, Greeks, Germans and other races. Many detailed references have been made to, and extracts drawn from literary works in Greek, Latin, Sanskrit and other languages. So far as the Indian original sources are concerned, the learned author has drawn upon the Vedas, the Dharma Sutras, the Dharma Sastras, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and other works. There is some uncertainty as regards the dates of some of these works, particularly the Indian epics and the Dharma Sastras. It may, therefore, be somewhat difficult to say how far the extracts from some of these works depict the true picture of the early Indian Society.

The work under review has already made its mark among learned people. We have come across references to it in some recent publications. We feel no hesitation to recommend this work to all students of history, anthropology, law and sociology.

P. C. Chunder

BHARATBARSHA O BRIHATTAR BHARATER PURABRITTA :
Vol. 1, (In Bengali)—By Upendra Nath Biswas. Available from B. Sircar & Co., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 20/-. Pages 554.

The title of this book implies that it is only an old story about India and greater India though the book purports to be a historical work. The author seems to have hesitated to call it an 'Ittibritta' (history) probably because he was aware that he was only giving us a glimpse of history instead of a systematic and connected one.

As we think, this volume will be a surprising revelation to some and to others a thought-provoking subject on which to develop

and undertake further research. It shakes the foundation of some of our most firmly established historical beliefs and proposes to give us a new method of approach to interpret Vedic Mantras and Pauranic tales. On perusal of the book, these legends appear in a new texture, meaningful and intelligible which are otherwise senseless and fantastic. They have been made by the author the main raw materials on which to found and reconstruct Indian history since 8000 B.C. May or may not this interpretation be correct, we are provided with a very interesting approach with which to peep into an age enshrouded in mist and mystery. Doubtless, the book has opened up a new thinking line in the matter of research to obtain a correct picture of ancient India. The arguments are at once forceful and appealing. History as understood by modern historians is only a narrative of the ruling kings, of the political, social and economic conditions of the people. But the author says that in an age when religion and preceptor-rule were all-important in the country and predominated the lives of the people, their history was bound to be a portrayal of those religious propounders and of their influence over the people. The author asserts that political kings, monarchical forms of Government and with it politics are later developments and were not found in the 'Satya Yuga' (Golden Age) of India which dates as far back as 6000 B. C; the history of such an age is to be sought for in contemporary literature, viz., Vedic, mythological and Ramayana and Mahabharata tales etc. which bear the impress of the religious organisation of that age and its chequered career. So the author proposes to stand on the very ground which had been hitherto discarded from the region of history as being meaningless and unbelievable.

Sense has been brought in the religious works by digging out the inner meaning underneath the otherwise unintelligible allegorical stories and myths and legends and the code language of the Vedas. The age upto about 1000 B. C. was an age of allegory and symbol and what we find in those religious compilations are mere allegorical stories written by the then historians to captivate the minds of the people with a story appeal. The main characters denote some forms of religion or others which were antagonistic to each other and always fighting among themselves, the events in the latter's career forming the events of the story. Thus Krishna in Indian legends and also Christ and Buddha were not historic personages, but personified forms of some faiths.

The author shows here, that the White Aryans penetrated into India and advanced as far as Ceylon during the period between 8000

B. C. to 7500 B. C. and not in 1500 B. C. as supposed by the European scholars and their naive followers who were eager to decry the antiquity of Indian civilisation. These Aryans worshipped nature, the various deities and performed 'Yagna'. In India they faced a civilisation of the black-skinned and short Dravidians and other aboriginals which was equally developed. As a protest against the Aryan forms of worship, caste divisions and 'Anuloma' marriage, there arose in about 6000 B.C. a new religion and philosophy known as 'Sindhu Dharma' or 'Chakra Dharma,' which swept over India and finally spread far and wide outside Indian borders, as far as the Mediterranean countries, Europe and Scandinavia in the West and Siam, Java, Sumatra etc. in the East. This eventually abolished caste-divisions and the consequent marriage restrictions, Yagna system and the worshipping of various deities. So there followed a consequent blending of the blood among the Indians and the Colour and Race purity of the Aryans was given a go-by. This brought about an era of 'Satya Yuga' (Golden Age) which lasted for 1000 years. The people lived a self-controlled divine life under the aegis of their spiritual overlords, there being no kings. The founder of this 'Sindhu Dharma' were three, namely, Shambar, Sita and Bharat and it is from this Bharat that India derives its name 'Bharatya-rsha'. from 'Sindhu-Dharma' the river Indus is 'Sindhu' and the word 'Sindhu' has by a process of metathesis come to 'Hindu'. A thousand years later, there arose a difference of opinion among the followers of Shambar and Bharat as to their greatness; and this resulted in the parting of ways and in innumerable forms of faith each accepting some and rejecting the other aspects of their parent religion, 'Sindhu Dharma'. Thus the Asuras, Daityas, Danavas, Nagas, Suparnas, Yakshas, Rakshas, Gandarvas, Kinnarvas were the appellations given to the followers of those offshoots. They were not the aboriginals as commonly understood.

At this time, a section of the Aryans tried to revive their old religion and blending their old faiths with some aspects of the 'Sindhu Dharma' brought about a Brahmanical resurrection. The author asserts that there is hardly any country in Eurasia where some or other branches of the 'Sindhu-Dharma' have not gone and moulded the lives of the people therein. So he has a firm conviction that the ancient history of the world is essentially a history of ancient India.

There is a chapter wherein he deals with the ancient Indian

methods of calculating time and in accordance with that method he has given a short chronological order of different epochs, i. e. 'Satya' 'Treta', 'Dwapar' and 'Kali' upto 1000 B. C; and a list of historical Kings of several dynasties upto Mahapadma Nanda, i. e. 401 B. C. has also been added. So we get here only outlines of different epochs and not the events century by century.

The present volume is a vast digest of the new code of interpretation of our past scriptures, and it is very interesting to go through the innumerable legendary tales collected under different heads requiring different sets of principles for their explanation, some of which are the following:—

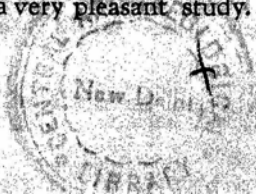
Principles of human male form, human female form and animal form, Principles of limbs, Principles of food, fruit etc., Theories of Puppetship, Mediation, Match-making, Theories of Nomination, Intercession, Conveyance etc., Theory of Phallus etc. As an instance of allegory we give the following:—

In the Indian legendary tale called "The Churning of the Sea", it is said that the Surs and Asurs together churned the sea and out of it got 'Amrit'. Here sea is the symbol of the 'Sindhu Dharma'. The underlying meaning, therefore, is that the Surs and Asurs, the two schools of faiths, adopted the "Theory of immortality" of the 'Sindhu-Dharma' as their creed while abandoning its other theories.

We note, in conclusion, that side by side the moral development and cultural history, we don't find anything about the material condition of the people, about their means of livelihood and the level of the modes of production. To be complete, history, in modern sense, should depict the life as a whole. We will eagerly wait for the next two volumes wherein the author proposes to deal these in details, in order to derive maximum amount of satisfaction. Here we may point out one thing; and that is this profound question: Whether it is safe to put much premium on the literary compilations alone disregarding other materials which have a scientific value? Can anthropology, archaeology and sociology not validate contradict or corroborate the findings contained in the book?

For the present, we warmly appreciate the erudition and meticulous research of the author. The treatment of the subject and the style of the language afford a very pleasant study.

A. R. Choudhury



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